This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

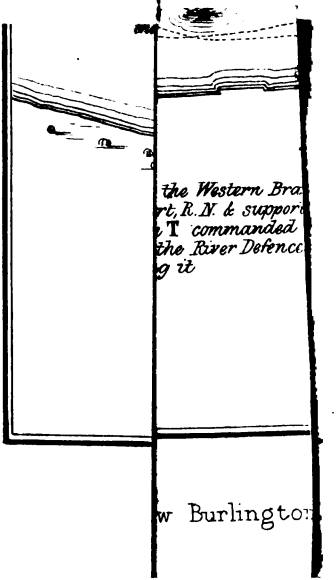
UC-NRLF
$B 294 907

The
University of California
Library

H. Morse Stephens

University of California

4/6


the Western Bra
rt, R.N. & suppor
T commanded
the River Defence
g it
w Burlingto

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SECOND CAMPAIGN IN CHINA.

BY

KEITH STEWART MACKENZIE, ESQ.

LATE MILITARY SECRETARY TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"The Chinese are specious, but insincere; jealous, envious, and distrustful, to a high degree. They are generally selfish, cold-blooded, and inhumane."

MORRISON'S VIEW OF CHINA.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1842.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

DS777
.S5
H15

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SCHULZE AND CO. 13, POLAND STREET.

DEDICATION

TO

COMMODORE SIR GORDON BREMER,

K.C.B. K.C.H.

LATE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CHINA EXPEDITION,

these pages are dedicated, as a token of the high esteem, the deep respect, and the sincere regard borne towards His Excellency, by one who had the honour of serving under his command, and the pride and gratification of filling the appointment of his Military Secretary.

K. S. MACKENZIE,

LIEUT. 90TH LT. INFANTRY.

514316

PREFACE.

In venturing to present these few pages to the Public, descriptive of the Second Campaign in China, I am actuated solely by a desire of communicating the events that have occurred during this extraordinary war; which, whether it be considered in a military or naval point of view, must ever possess universal interest, in consequence of the vast and important matters involved in the issue of the question.

Having been present at all the actions described, I can only add, that the authenticity and correctness of my statements may be relied on. Political ques-

tions are carefully avoided, as tending only to produce discussions, which cannot but be considered as irrelevant to a narrative purely military.

London,
April, 1842.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Arrival in Canton River—Description of the Bogue—Squadron anchors below Chuenpee—Resignation of the Admiral—Appointed Military Secretary—Visit from mandarins—Account of Chinese ranks and dresses—Release of Mr. Staunton, French missionary, and Lascar—Preparations for, and causes that led to hostilities. 1

CHAPTER II.

Action of Chuenpee and Ty-cock-tow—Nemesis and junks in Anson's Bay—Prisoner sent to Chinese Admiral with a chop—Preparations for attacking the Bogue forts, and the result—Anecdote relative to Chinese soldiers—American ships allowed to pass out—Departure of squadron to Hong Kong—Restoration of forts to Chinese. 15

CHAPTER III.

Page

Interview with Keshen at Second Bar Pagoda—Hong merchants 32

CHAPTER IV.

Treaty sent up for final signature—Forts fire on the Nemesis—Account of the expedition since its arrival on the coast of China, showing the duplicity displayed by Keshen, and the causes that led to hostilities. . . 46

CHAPTER V.

Battle of the Bogue—Action at First Bar—Expedition up the Broadway—Peasantry assist our sailors—Operations on the river—Arrival of Major-General Sir Hugh Gough—Arrival of squadron from Chusan—Restoration of prisoners—Capitulation of Canton—Chinese policemen—Breaches of truce—Keshen's proclamations. 55

CHAPTER VI.

Arrangements relative to the trade and treaty —Great distrust manifested by both Chinese

Page

and British—Murder of Captain Stead, and hostility shown along the coast to H.M.S. Columbine—Murder of Messrs. Bligh, Toole, and Field, by the Chinese, at Macao—Breach of treaty, and preparations for an attack on Canton—Chinese attack the fleet and ransack the factories—Fire-rafts set fire to Canton—Action between H.M.B. Algerine and battery—Factories occupied by troops, under Major Pratt—Force proceeds up the river—Description of boats—Reconnaissance—Description of Joss house and garden—False alarm. . 81

CHAPTER VII.

Attack and capture of the heights of Canton—Numbers of European and native troops—Entrenched camp—Dispositions for attacking Canton on the 27th. and resumption of negociations—Interview with Tartar general—Description of Canton, and City of the Dead—Attack of the Militia—Death of Major Beecher, Quarter-master-General—Gallantry of sepoys—Quit the heights. . . . 101

CHAPTER VIII.

Causes that led to the attack on Canton—Com-

Page

parison of forces—Numerical amount of Chinese—Loss sustained by British—Ransom of Canton. 127

CHAPTER IX.

Description of Chinese arms—Account of the army—Names and titles of Tartar generals. 134

CHAPTER X.

Account of Hong Kong and Macao—Conduct of Portuguese authorities relative to the tender of the flag-ship—Battle of the Barrier. . 158

CHAPTER XI.

Typhoon—Escape of Sir Gordon Bremer and Captain Elliot—Damage done to men-of-war and merchant ships—Arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger, and Rear-Admiral Sir W. Parker—Departure of Sir Gordon Bremer and Captain Elliot—Squadron sails for the North—Fall of Amoy. 180

Appendix. 193

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SECOND CAMPAIGN IN CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival in Canton river—Description of the Bogue—Squadron anchors below Chuenpee—Resignation of the Admiral—Appointed Military Secretary—Visit from mandarins—Account of Chinese ranks and dresses—Release of Mr. Staunton, French missionary, and lascar—Preparations for, and causes that led to hostilities.

HAVING long been anxious to visit the Celestial Empire, a desire which was further increased by the hope of seeing some actual service in my profession, and a favourable opportunity having at length presented itself by the arrival of

the Nemesis, a large iron war-steamer, from England, which touched at Ceylon for instructions, I at once availed myself of the kind offer of a passage by the captain, and, bidding adieu to the "Spicy Isle," embarked for China on the 15th of October, 1840.

The Nemesis is one of the most powerful vessels of her class which has been yet constructed, being 670 tons in burden, and of 120 horse power. She is armed with two thirty-two pounder guns, fore and aft, and a rocket platform in the centre of the vessel. Her qualities, as a sea boat, are of the highest order, and the eminent services which she rendered in China, under her gallant commander Lieut. Hall, R.N., will be often found recorded in the following pages.

After a pleasant voyage, during which we touched at the most beautiful of all islands, Penang, Sincapore, and Leuconia, we arrived at Macao, on the 27th November, 1840.

It may be here proper to state, that the events of the campaign to the north having been so graphically described by Lord Jocelyn, it would be unnecessary for me to do more than refer the reader, who is anxious to follow the expedition from its arrival up to the time at which my narrative commences, to that work.

On landing at Macao on the 27th November, we found that the plenipotentiaries, with a part of the squadron, had arrived from the north, in consequence of an imperial commissioner having been appointed to proceed to Canton, to negociate. The reason assigned for this was, that as all our grievances had arisen at Canton, so at that place would they all be amicably redressed. And to effect this, Keshen, a noble of the second order, member of the Imperial cabinet, and viceroy of Pechilee, was appointed commissioner, to arrange matters, and proceed to Canton, where he was at this time daily expected.

Tong-Koo Bay, about eighteen miles from Macao, being a preferable anchorage, the squadron was there assembled; in consequence of which, after remaining a few hours at Macao, the Nemesis proceeded to join the squadron. The weather was most beautiful: in fact, it was the first cold day I had experienced since leaving Europe. The river was as smooth as glass, and as far as the eye could reach, its waters were covered with innumerable boats and vessels of every description. For some miles from the sea, the channel is studded with numerous islands, among which we were now sailing, and although they did not present so verdant and beautiful an appearance as the shores of Ceylon, or the Straits, yet to me, their very barrenness was acceptable, as in their bold and rocky outline, they bore no inconsiderable resemblance to the hills of my native land; while our arrival in a country, of which we had all heard so much, but

of which we knew so little, rendered the scene one of peculiar interest.

Entering the harbour of Tong-Koo, we passed close to the little island of Souchow, then occupied by the 37th Madras Native Infantry, and the Bengal Volunteers, the men of which corps were employed in throwing up an encampment. The squadron consisted of the Melville, 74, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral the Hon. G. Elliot; Wellesley, 74, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer; Blenheim, 74; Druid, 44; Herald, 28; Modeste, 18; Hyacinth, 18, and two steamers. The remainder of the squadron had been left at Chusan.

On the 28th, the squadron sailed for the Bogue, and on the 2nd December anchored about nine miles below Chuenpee, at which place, the advanced squadron, consisting of Calliope, 28, Larne, and Columbine, had previously been stationed. During the passage up

the river, in consequence of bad health, Admiral Elliot resigned the command into the hands of Sir Gordon Bremer. By this event, Captain Elliot became sole plenipotentiary.

As in the following pages frequent mention is made of the Bocca Tigris, commonly called the Bogue, a slight description of the situation of the forts, by which the entrance to the river is defended, may not be out of place. Below the Bogue, the river by the Chinese is called the "outer waters," while the portion within, is called the "inner waters." Upon the sacred surface of the "inner waters" no vessel of war is ever permitted to float; nor are merchantmen even allowed to enter, unless provided with a regular chop or pass, which is furnished by the custom-house at Canton.

The entrance of the Bogue, which is about forty miles from Macao, is not more than two miles broad. On the west it is defended by the battery of

Chuenpee, and on the east by that of Ty-cock-tow: both these forts are built on islands, as are also the batteries of North and South Anunghoy, North Wantong, and Tiger Island, which is about six miles above Chuenpee. The fort on this last island is built on the N.W. point; Ty-cock-tow, on the S.E. of the opposite island; and both have been erected since the forcing of the Bogue by H.M.S. Andromache and Imogen in 1833, although I believe that the watch-towers are of older date. The other batteries are built facing the river, and have also been recently enlarged and strengthened, and if properly manned and defended, would be impassable.

On assuming the chief command, Sir Gordon Bremer did me the honour to nominate me his Military Secretary—an appointment which had become vacant by the resignation of Lord Jocelyn.

A few days after the arrival of the squadron, two mandarins, bearing a *chop*,

or letter, from Keshen, paid us a visit. They were both Tartars, and one was already well known to the officers who had been to the Peiho, by the *nom de guerre* of Captain White.

The Plenipotentiary did them the honour of inviting them to partake of some breakfast, which they accepted with seeming pleasure, and under the benign influence of which, it was wonderful to observe how rapidly their national pride vanished; for they not only conversed with the barbarians, but did ample justice to our meal, and that with much apparent relish. Their dress was very plain, but rich; the outer jacket, or spencer, being lined with fine fur, under which they wore a long tunic, of flowered, or as it is called, "mandarin silk," reaching below the knee. Their nether man was clad in loose silk drawers, which were gathered up, and fastened inside the boot, which serves the double purpose of a pocket, and covering for

the foot; and from which, with extreme astonishment, I beheld a tobacco-pipe produced. One of them was decorated with a crystal, the other with an opaque white button, to denote their rank.* These mandarins were accompanied by a linguist, whose chief recommendation seemed to be, that he was a *well known* rascal, and spoke an unintelligible jargon of English and Portuguese.

As the iron steamer, Nemesis, was a

* Captain White wore a one-eyed peacock's feather in his cap, an honour similar to a cross, or decoration. The feather is inserted in a hollow tube of green jadestone, which in China is esteemed as very valuable. They both wore two squirrel's tails on either side of the feather, which indicates that the nation is in a state of disturbance, but not actually at war, nor yet at peace. I never observed these tails worn by any civil mandarins, only by those of the military service. There are nine ranks of mandarins, separately distinguished by different coloured buttons, worn on the cap. Each rank is divided into primary, and secondary grades; the colour of the button differing according to the rank, but remaining alike in the

novelty, I was sent to escort these mandarins on board. They seemed quite at ease, and only expressed surprise at her 32-pounders being on pivots, and

grades. Civil mandarins always take precedence of military.

The colours of the ranks are as follows :—

1st rank, red button. This is given only to the highest nobles.
2nd „ red-flowered gem.
3rd „ light blue stone.
4th „ dark blue stone.
5th „ light crystal.
6th „ opaque white.
7th 8th and 9th ranks, gold buttons.

In the court-dress, a badge belonging to each grade is richly embroidered in front and on the back, each of which has its peculiar signification, and distinguishes a civilian from a military man; while a large necklace of coloured beads, reaching below the waist, completes the court costume. The attention paid by Government to these minutiæ is quite absurd; the annual change of cap, for summer and winter wear, being duly announced in the Pekin Gazette.

not on carriages. On being taken to the engine-room, they were evidently astonished; but their delight was perfect on seeing a Cape monkey—whether the feeling was mutual or not, I am unable to form an opinion.

After remaining here about a fortnight, we moved up nearer the forts, as a demonstration. While laying here, the Royal Marine battalion, five hundred strong, under the command of Captain Ellis, an old and distinguished Trafalgar officer, were frequently landed for exercise, on a small island. The splendid appearance of these men excited our highest hopes; nor were these disappointed by subsequent events; for throughout the whole campaign they nobly upheld the distinguished name this corps has ever borne.

Having devoted an entire fortnight to chopping, Captain Elliot began to grow impatient, and accordingly limited the Imperial Commissioner to a specified

period; at the expiration of which, if our terms were not acceded to, Captain Elliot declared that he would attack the forts. Accordingly, on Saturday and Sunday, the 26th and 27th, the fleet resounded with preparations for the desired conflict; but on the 27th, when everything was nearly ready, the usual chop-bearer made his appearance, and of course all our preparations were rendered useless, which caused great and universal disappointment throughout the squadron.

The Commissioner, it was understood, had not entirely agreed to our terms, but had made certain fresh propositions and concessions. A reply was sent, demanding an immediate answer, failing which, hostilities were to commence.

At this critical juncture, Keshen gave one of the first instances of his apparently sincere desire to make reparation for the past, for, on Captain Elliot's application, he released Mr. Staunton, a gentle-

man who had been for nearly six months in prison at Canton, during a great portion of which time, his treatment had been very severe; and again, after a lapse of a few days, he released a French Missionary, and a lascar; the latter of whom had been forcibly carried away. I am not aware by what means they took the Missionary prisoner; but when the Frenchman came on board the Wellesley, he seemed quite indifferent to his release; the lascar, on the contrary, was much overjoyed, falling down on his knees, and salaaming in the most happy manner possible. The mandarin, in whose charge they had come down from Canton, wished them to return to his boat to breakfast, but the lascar would not hear of it, showing very plainly that he did not much relish the tender mercies of the Chinese, from which he seemed glad to have escaped.

As during the period named, no operations could take place, Captain Elliot

proceeded to Macao for a few days, and finding on his return on the 5th that the Commissioner had failed to agree to the proposed terms, he gave over affairs to be dealt with by the Commodore, who accordingly made every preparation for offensive operations on the 7th.

CHAPTER II.

Action of Chuenpee and Ty-cock-tow—The Nemesis and Junks in Anson's Bay—Prisoner sent to Chinese Admiral with a chop—Preparations for attacking the Bogue forts, and the results—Anecdotes relative to Chinese soldiers—American ships allowed to pass out—Departure of Squadron to Hong-Kong—Restoration of the forts to the Chinese.

On Thursday the 7th of January, at 8 A.M., the signal was made for the troops to land. The Royal Marines and Royal Artillery, with the guns, shoved off first from their respective ships, preceded by an advanced guard of the Wellesley's marines, in the launch of that ship. They were followed by the steamers towing the other troops nearer in-shore; from these the men were landed in boats. The point of debarka-

tion chosen was the usual watering-place of the squadron, about two miles distant from the fort of Chuenpee; the approach to which lay through a winding glen, terminated by a high ridge, running transversely, and forming the valley in which the entrenched camp and stockades were situated. The force destined to oppose the batteries, consisted of the Calliope, Larne, and Hyacinth, under the command of Captain Herbert, of the former ship. The Queen and Nemesis steamers, having performed their other duties, were to throw shell into the hill-fort and entrenchments on the inner side.

The attack on Ty-cock-tow was entrusted to Captain Scott, of H.M.S. Samarang; having under him the Druid, Modeste, and Columbine. All the ships got under weigh nearly at the same time that the troops landed. The line-of-battle ships took no part in the play, but moved higher up the river, in order to

be ready to attack the other batteries next day.

On landing, the force was formed as well as the nature of the ground would admit of, in a quarter distance column, the leading battalion being the Royal Marines, under Captain Ellis. In the centre of the force were the field-pieces, drawn by a party of seamen belonging to the Blenheim. We had one 24-pounder howitzer, two 6-pounder guns, and rockets. The entire force consisted of 1,242 men; of whom 540 were the 37th Madras Native Infantry, commanded by Captain Duff. Major Pratt, of the 26th Cameronians, commanded the force; Lieutenant Stransham, of the Marines, was Brigade-Major, and I acted as aide-de-camp. Our progress was considerably retarded by the nature of the ground, which rendered the dragging the guns a very severe labour. The delay, however, enabled the steamers to get into position, and the Queen had the satisfaction of

firing the first shell into the upper fort, as a revenge for the insult offered her in November, when under a flag of truce.

After a march of about two hours, we at length reached the summit of the ridge, and found the Chinese drawn up to oppose us. From this place we had a good view of their fortifications and positions. Immediately facing us, was a little hill, on which a large body of Chinese was drawn up, with colours flying; on our left, was a small fort, and immediately below it an entrenched camp, strongly defended by stockades, about seven feet high, surrounded by a very broad ditch, twelve feet deep. One of the sides of this camp was carried along the face of the hill, up to the fort. To the right, was a small field-battery, consisting of three guns; and farther on, another battery of the same description. On the extreme right, was a large circular camp, defended with stockades.

All the positions were admirably chosen, and had they been held by men more conversant with arms, would have cost a severe struggle to have got possession of them.

As soon as we appeared on the hill, the Chinese waved their flags, cheered, and beat their gongs, as if in defiance, and immediately opened fire, which was quickly returned from our guns, now in position on the top of the ridge. For at least a quarter of an hour they kept up a very smart fire, during which time, the steamers were throwing shells, with great effect, into the hill fort. On observing that the enemy's fire was gradually slackening, our guns ceased, and the whole column moved down into the valley, but found that most of the enemy had retired to the forts. Those who still maintained their position on the hill in front, were driven out by the marines, most gallantly led on by Captain Ellis. Having accomplished this, they made a

détour on the flank into the valley, and quickly drove the enemy from the outworks and camp. A company of the 37th was detached on the extreme right, to drive the Chinese out of a small fort, in which the enemy made an attempt at a stand, but were quickly driven out by the sepoys. While this was going on, Major Pratt, with a small party, had passed through the camp, up to the hill fort, and meeting with no opposition had hoisted the Union Jack.

During this time our sister service had not been idle, for we found the guns in the lower battery completely silenced, but still many Chinese remained in the fort. After waiting a short time, to allow the men to recruit their strength, we descended the hill, with the intention of attacking this fort. When the Chinese, however, saw us advancing, many of them fled, but they were met by a party of marines and of the 37th, by whom numbers of them were killed. Some again

returned to the fort, where they witnessed the fate of their comrades. Thither they were quickly followed by the marines and native troops, who, blowing the gate open, rushed in, but met with considerable resistance; for the Chinese had barricadoed all their houses, and as the soldiers passed, they inflicted several severe wounds with spears. Just at this time, Mr. Viner of the Blenheim entered the fort, at the head of a party of seamen, and pursuing several Chinese towards the upper end of the fort, observed them retreat into a house, on which he fired his pistol off through one of the windows. In an instant a terrific explosion took place, which we at first attributed to a mine, but it appeared that the pistol had been fired into the magazine, and as all the powder lay loose, it instantly blew up. By this accident Mr. Viner was severely burnt, and many men were injured for life. Had the Chinese submitted on our obtaining possession of the fort, many lives would

have been spared; but they continued to wound our men, which so irritated them, that numbers were shot. In some instances during the fight, they took refuge in the water, and discharged their match-locks at the pursuer, and then throwing the weapon away, begged for mercy; a system of warfare which our men did not at all understand.

The loss on the side of the enemy, was not less than 600 killed and wounded, while we had not one killed, but 30 wounded; many of these were, however, disabled for life. The tortures which most of the Chinese endured, must have been dreadful, for whenever they were wounded and fell, the match-lock set fire to their cotton clothes, and I saw several instances of their being literally burnt alive. In this affair, the Chinese, neither on the part of officers nor men, shewed any want of courage; on the contrary, they displayed many instances of individual bravery, and all defended their positions as long as they

were tenable with great devotion. The officer in command was shot through the breast while leading his men on, his button and feather being among the trophies in my possession.

Having secured our prisoners, the troops lay down to rest, and had the satisfaction of witnessing the Nemesis, and boats of the men-of-war, attack the war junks in Anson's Bay. The first shot went completely through a large junk, and sent the crew jumping into the water in all directions, while a Congreve rocket, which was fired at the Admiral's junk, went through the deck into the magazine, upon which she immediately blew up. Being full both of men and money, which had been sent down from Canton to pay the troops, the loss was great. These operations continued for some hours, during which time seventeen junks were destroyed, and many brought away. For a return of the ordnance captured in these forts and junks, see Appendix A, Table I.

On returning with Sir Gordon Bremer to the Wellesley, we found a Chinese medico on board, who had been taken prisoner at Ty-cock-tow. As Captain Elliot supposed that the Chinese, after their lesson of the forenoon might be more pacifically inclined, he despatched a chop by this prisoner to Kwan, the Chinese Admiral, explaining different usages of civilized warfare, adding that if the forts struck their colours, we would not fire on them, but would take them under our protection.

There can be no doubt that Captain Elliot, in sending this chop, was actuated by feelings of pure humanity, for having witnessed the great loss of life sustained by the Chinese in the morning, together with the probability of a still greater loss, in the capture of the large forts, he wished if possible to spare them. The policy of the act may, however, be questioned, more particularly with His Excellency's knowledge of the national character. Subse-

quent events have also shown, how utterly unworthy they were of such leniency, and with what a perfidious race we had to contend.

On the 8th, at about half past eleven, A.M., the squadron and transports got under weigh, and stood up towards the batteries. The Blenheim had nearly taken up her position, and the Nemesis had already begun to throw in shells, when to our astonishment the enemy did not return our fire, but suddenly struck their flags, and a small boat with a flag of truce was observed coming out towards the flag ship. The signal was immediately made to discontinue the action, in order that the communication might be received.

The boat was *manned* by an old woman, having for her *compagnon de voyage* a man of the lowest description, who proved to be the bearer of a chop from Kwan, to Captain Elliot; the purport of which was to obtain a grace of three days, to en-

able them to communicate with Keshen. This was acceded to, and our answer was taken in the Nemesis by Lieutenant William Maitland, who had an interview with the Chinese Admiral, who was most civil, and when told by Lieutenant Maitland that he must desist from all further hostile preparations, replied, that he was already quite prepared to do so; that he dared not surrender the forts, but that if able, we might come and take them. In consequence of this all idea of hostilities was laid aside. I leave the reader to imagine, if he can, the feelings of the fleet on this occasion; to attempt to describe them would be useless.

The next day, observing the Chinese hard at work in throwing up an entrenched camp, Sir Gordon Bremer went to inform them that during a cessation of hostilities, no military work of any description could be permitted. This remonstrance had immediately the desired effect.

The residue of our three days' truce

passed in tranquillity, and at its termination, an armistice was agreed upon to afford ample time for completing the negociations. Some time was occupied by us in destroying the forts captured on the 7th. While engaged in this duty, Lieut. Bingham, First Lieutenant of the Modeste, had the misfortune to have his leg broken by a large stone, which was thrown up from a heavy explosion at Ty-cock-tow.

While at anchor here, a remarkable instance of the feeling entertained towards us by the lower classes of the Chinese, was shown by some soldiers, on the following occasion. During a spring tide, increased by strong wind, part of one of the large rafts moored across the river to prevent our passing, broke loose, and being taken possession of by the Wellesley's boats, was fastened astern of that ship. On seeing this, the Chinese Admiral sent an inferior officer,

with seventy men, to ask leave to bring back the raft, which was of course refused, much to the consternation of the mandarin, who declared that he would be punished for not obeying his instructions. Finding Sir Gordon inexorable, the mandarin was satisfied on receiving a note to say that it was not his fault, but that the raft would not be restored. On his return to the boat in which he had left his men, he found to his horror that they had all disembarked, and taken up their quarters on the raft, asserting that they would not return, as they felt safer under the guns of our line-of-battle ship, than in returning to their mandarins, who they knew would punish them for not bringing back the raft. The unfortunate officer came again on board, and entreated that the men might be sent back. This it was impossible to accede to, and the men having provided themselves with a breakfast on the raft, and still declaring their intention to remain, the poor mandarin, as

a last resource, begged with tears, that in order to save his wife and family from death or torture, Captain Elliot would give him a letter explaining the whole affair. This was done, and on the Admiral promising the recusants that they should escape the dreaded punishment, for not bringing back the raft, they somewhat reluctantly returned. I merely mention this as one instance, out of many that have come to my knowledge, of the manner in which these people are oppressed by their rulers.

Between the 5th and 10th, two American ships the Panama and Kosciusko, subsequently the subject of so much discussion, passed out from Canton.

The squadron remained here about three weeks. At length Captain Elliot informed the Commodore that, negociations being nearly concluded, the Chinese authorities were anxious that the ships should no longer remain in the inner waters, and that as Hong-Kong had

been ceded to us, the squadron was to proceed there, which they accordingly did on the 21st.

I remained, by Sir Gordon's directions, to assist Captain Scott of H.M.S. Samarang, Governor of Chuenpee, in restoring the forts to a mandarin, who was to be sent by Admiral Kwan to receive them. The Admiral at the same time sent his *chin chin*, (*anglicè* compliments) with a request to be allowed to hoist his colours again on Anunghoy, permission for which was accordingly given him. Towards noon the officer came off; he was, however, only second in command, the senior having been severely wounded at Chuenpee. The arrangements agreed upon were, that the British colours should be hauled down, and the forts restored to the Chinese, who were then again to hoist their colours under a salute from the flag ship; the forts were thereupon each to salute our ships with three guns, the greatest number ever given in China.

All this was strictly obeyed. It was very amusing to observe the surprise and disgust pourtrayed on the mandarin's face when he saw the effects of our fire on the forts; and I never saw a man in such an ecstasy of *chin chin*, as he was, when our colours were lowered—he absolutely jumped for joy. The ceremony being duly concluded, we wished good bye to the mandarin, who said, with more truth I believe than any Chinese ever did before, that he hoped in future the two nations would be good friends. With these protestations of friendship, we parted.

CHAPTER III.

Interview with Keshen at second Bar Pagoda—Hong Merchants.

On leaving the Bogue, the squadron assembled at Hong Kong, in order to take possession of the island, and remain there, pending the final adjustment of affairs.

For some time previous to this crisis, Captain Elliot had been anxious to have an interview with Keshen, but from some cause or other, the interview, to use a sporting phrase, had not "come off." His Excellency, however, rightly conceiving this to be a very favourable opportunity for the meeting to take place, the 27th, (which by a strange coincidence happened to be the day Sir Gordon

Bremer took possession of Hong Kong,) was named as that on which to celebrate this Chinese *champ de drap d'or*. The meeting was to take place at the second Bar Pagoda, about twelve miles above Tiger Island, and every thing was to be arranged, to use the Chinese expression, " on principles of the purest reason." I was sent by Sir Gordon Bremer to attend Captain Elliot, who was accompanied by several captains, and other officers of both services, and also by Captain Rosamel of the French corvette Danaïde, who had lately arrived in the river, together with the French Consul.

The Calliope, Hyacinth, Larne, Nemesis and Madagascar steamers, formed the squadron in attendance on His Excellency, and in order to give as much *éclat* as possible to the meeting, the band of the Wellesley, and also one hundred picked men of the Royal Marines, commanded by Captain Ellis, having under him Lieutenants Stransham and Maxwell

were in attendance, as a guard of honour. On arriving off Chuenpee, the usual honours were paid to the Plenipotentiary, and the officers in attendance were distributed between the two steamers. As we passed between the batteries of Anunghoy and Wangtong the Chinese fired a salute, and manned the ramparts, a compliment paid only to the highest mandarins. The appearance of the soldiers on the ramparts, each of whom held a spear in his hand, and was dressed in full uniform, was highly picturesque. On passing each battery, the steamer returned the salute, and the band played God save the Queen. The same ceremony was observed off Tiger Island, the battery on which disappointed us much, for we had been led to believe it was very strong. Owing to the Nemesis' light draft of water, she was able to go close alongside, so near indeed, that had we approached it with hostile intent, troops, or rather blue jackets, could have *boarded* the fort.

The scenery above Tiger Island forms a striking contrast to that below. The low swampy Paddy fields, on the banks of which the inhabitants may be said to *exist*, rather than to live, extend for miles around, and being intersected with small branches of the river, used for the purposes of irrigation and as canals, and covered with numberless craft of every description, present the extraordinary appearance of vessels moving through fields in the highest possible culture, nothing being visible but the masts and sails of the boat. The vast extent of these fields would be unpleasing to the eye, were it not relieved by picturesque villages and mandarin stations, situated among clumps of trees, while the background, at nearly as great a distance as the eye can reach, is bounded by a fine range of lofty mountains.

We arrived off the second bar too late in the evening to land, but Keshen sent off several warriors belonging to his

staff, to chin-chin, and say that he would be happy to receive us next morning. Many of these were men of great military renown; but I apprehend, had we come to close quarters, that they would have shown that enviable, *prudent* courage for which Chinese mandarins are so remarkable.

Next morning we all landed, about 9 A.M., in various boats, some belonging to the steamers, others provided by Keshen. The landing-place was situated about a quarter of a mile up one of the numerous creeks on the banks of the river. On approaching, our attention was much attracted by the various handsome boats in which Keshen and his suite had come down from Canton. They were all brilliantly painted, and decorated with elaborate carving, and gaudy flags. The landing-place was enclosed by a slight bamboo railing, which served to keep off the "*profanum vulgus*," with which China abounds. It

was roofed over, and covered with plantain leaves and cloths of the brightest colours. Under this, the guard of honour and band were drawn up to receive the Plenipotentiary. While the officers remained waiting his arrival, our time was fully occupied in examining the boats and preparations for our reception. The tents in which the interview was to take place, were about three hundred yards distant from the landing-place, and were surrounded with smaller tents, for Keshen's guard of Chinese soldiers, and as quarters occupied by his suite. A raised platform of bamboo served as a causeway between the landing-place and tent.

On Captain Elliot's arrival, he was received with the usual honours, and we then marched off to the tents, the band preceding us. Keshen received us in a handsome outer tent, lined with yellow, the imperial colour. His appearance is that of a man about fifty; but he is, I believe,

much older. His manners were very dignified, and he received us with great courtesy and politeness, without any of the *mauvaise honte* that recent events might be supposed to have given rise to. His dress was plain, but handsome; the outer jacket was of the finest sable; and a cap, with a dark red button and peacock's feather, served to denote his exalted rank. On this occasion, however, he did not wear his court button, but one of more common material.

We were all presented to him individually by Captain Elliot, Keshen at the same time referring to a list of our names and ranks in Chinese, which had been forwarded to him the previous evening. After this ceremony was over, Keshen invited the Plenipotentiary and a few other officers, into an inner tent, where we found chairs arranged on each side of an ottoman, upon which Keshen immediately seated himself, in the man-

ner in which tailors are wont to pursue their laudable vocation,—his staff standing around him. We sat on chairs, Captain Elliot on the left, and the Hon. Captain Dundas on the right—the former being looked on, in China, as the seat of honour. Mr. Grey, a young midshipman of H.M.S. Herald, son of the late Bishop of Hereford, had accompanied his captain; and Keshen took the lad, and placed him at his side, commencing a series of questions relative to the boy. Captain Elliot mentioned that Mr. Grey is nephew of the late Prime Minister, at which Keshen seemed pleased, and inquired his age. On being informed that he was only fifteen, he remarked that one so young would be much better employed at home in learning his books, than in learning the use of his sword. A desultory conversation then ensued, during which, servants entered with refreshments, which were served in a variety of cups, of all shapes and sizes,

made of the most delicate and transparent china; this was followed by tea *à la Chinoise*. After this, Keshen said that he had ordered breakfast to be prepared, which being ready, he begged we would partake of it, and immediately bowed out Captain Elliot and all by whom he was attended.

On retiring, we were shown into the tent we had first entered, and found four tables set out, each capable of accommodating six persons, which made up the exact number of the party.

I regret having been unable to procure a copy of the bill of fare on this occasion, while to endeavour to describe the various dishes would require the talent of an Ude, and many of them would not tend to elevate the Chinese gastronomic art in the estimation of my readers; suffice it to say, that most of them were *très recherchés*. Among others, I would particularly recall to pleasing recollection the partridge soup, and pheasant-

breast sandwiches; as also the preserves, and dessert, which were delicious. In addition to the usual European, we had a weak Chinese wine, heated, and handed round in small cups, the attendants pressing us frequently to drink, and seeming to think that a glass of something was necessary to assist our masticating labours. Having eaten as much as I felt inclined to partake of, I endeavoured to effect a retreat, but was stopped by a servant who spoke a little English, and to my horror was informed by him that breakfast was not half over. Unwillingly I followed him again to the table, where I found to my surprise a course of at least two dozen different dishes set out; among which, was the celebrated bird's-nest and shark's fin soup.

Having, at length, finished breakfast, we adjourned to the open air, and found that Keshen—

> While he feasted all the great,
> *Had not* forgot the small,

having provided a good and substantial breakfast for the marines and band.

During the time occupied at breakfast, Keshen was employed in examining the arms of the marines, and the instruments of the band. Nor was his curiosity confined solely to the weapons of defence used by the privates, for he sent to me to request to be allowed to examine my sword. Whilst unclasping its belt, to comply with this request, I was amused by the exclamation, "*et voilà* MON *épée*," which proceeded from my neighbour, Captain Rosamel; who, when informed of what was passing, detached his own sword from his side, and insisted upon its also being subjected to the inspection of our curious host; thereby exhibiting a striking instance of his correct appreciation of the balance of power, so much esteemed in Europe.

While wandering about, we walked

into a house, which, to our surprise, we found tenanted by the Hong merchants, who, being habited in full court dresses, made of silk richly embroidered, formed a very pleasing addition to the pageant. They were headed by Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, an old man of seventy-two, possessed of enormous wealth; and who, if report speaks correctly, was *squeezed* for the expenses of this day's entertainment. In China, where the mandarins retain their appointments for three years only, the general policy of these officers is to *squeeze*, or extort, as much as they can from the people under their rule—a procedure they have recourse to, in consequence of the low scale of their official salary. Nor is it to be wondered at, that by this means they not unfrequently amass enormous wealth.

On our return to the tents, Keshen expressed a wish to inspect the marines. They were consequently drawn up, and

marched past, put through the manual and platoon, with one or two other simple manœuvres, and as Keshen came down in front, took open order, and presented arms. All this would have been perfect, had not a row of unfortunate Chinese soldiers been drawn up close in the rear, who stood looking on with great gravity, totally ignorant of the nature of the movement; consequently as each rear rank man stepped back, he trod on the toes of a Chinaman, who of course commenced jumping up, thereby producing an effect something similar to the keys in the interior of a piano.

Keshen was much struck by the appearance of our men, whom he seemed to suppose were padded, for he felt their arms and chests; and even to the innate pride and self-sufficiency of a Chinese mandarin, the contrast between our men and his own body-guard, (who, although not deficient in height, were miserable objects) must have been striking.

Shortly after this, we took leave of Keshen, and returned to the steamer, leaving Captain Elliot with the Commissioner, to arrange public affairs.

CHAPTER IV.

Treaty sent up for final signature—Forts fire on the Nemesis—Account of the expedition since its arrival on the coast of China, shewing the duplicity displayed by Keshen, and the causes that led to hostilities.

"When the territory of our Sovereign is in difficulty, we ought immediately to deliver it. *What would be the use of adhering bigotedly to a little bit of good faith, thereby involving doubts and delays?*"

CHINESE STATESMAN'S MAXIM.

On rejoining the Commander-in-Chief, after the interview, I attended him on several occasions to various parts of Hong Kong, and assisted in making the necessary arrangements for the permanent occupation of the island.

While thus peacefully engaged, Captain Elliot had another final interview with Keshen; at which it was arranged that the treaty should be prepared, and sent up to Canton for the signature and ratification of the Imperial Commissioners. In the mean time, notwithstanding Captain Elliot's public declaration, that all was on the point of amicable adjustment, various rumours were current as to the intentions of the Chinese. It was said that they were blocking up the river, and that the provincial army had been reinforced by 40,000 Tartar troops, sent down to exterminate the rebels, as we are (facetiously) termed by the Emperor. At this juncture of affairs, the Nemesis was despatched to the Bogue, conveying one of Keshen's confidential messengers, with the treaty in his charge. The orders given to the officer in command of the Nemesis, were to wait a certain number of days, and if then the messenger had not arrived, to return to Macao. While

there, under a flag of truce, all doubt as to the treachery of the Chinese was dispelled, by the fort of Wantong firing on her boat. The Nemesis, however, remained the appointed period; when, the messenger not making his appearance, she returned to Macao. It is hardly necessary to add, that Keshen failed to fulfil his agreement relative to the treaty, demanding ten days more to consider. To this, Captain Elliot sent back a reply, stating that fair means having failed, he would in future carry on negociations in a different manner. In consequence of this intimation, it was determined to attack the Bogue forts, and endeavour to settle some sort of treaty with the local authorities, which would ensure the exportation of this season's teas; as it was very evident, that a movement to the north would again be necessary, to compel the Emperor to accede to such terms as would terminate the present state of affairs.

In order fully to understand the base-

ness and treachery of Keshen throughout the whole of these negociations, it may not be irrelevant to the subject, to give place to a slight account of the progress of the expedition since its first arrival on the coast of China.

After the capture of Chusan, and a delay of a month there, in consequence of the refusal of the local authorities to receive the communication from Lord Palmerston, a part of the squadron sailed for the Peiho, where they arrived in August, 1840. Their sudden appearance there was as unexpected by the Chinese, and Keshen in particular, as it was distasteful to him and the Court. In proportion, therefore, to their alarm, were their extreme civility and professions of friendship.

As it is a law of this extraordinary Empire, that each Viceroy is *individually* responsible for any commotion which may take place in the province entrusted to his care, and as the province of Pechilee, of

which Keshen was Viceroy, was totally defenceless, it was his policy to remove such unwelcome visitors, no matter where, lest any circumstances should bring on hostilities in his province. To accomplish this, he advised the Emperor to disown Lin's acts, to feign a desire to make amends for the past, and thus to induce our force to retire from the Peiho. Canton being far distant, it was supposed that there would be time to temporise, and also to remove us. For this purpose, Keshen was himself named Imperial Commissioner, to proceed thither, and settle affairs.

The action of Chuenpee having occasioned the loss of two important forts, Keshen, as acting Viceroy of the province in which they are situated, became seriously involved with the Emperor, and this circumstance hastened the denouement of his treachery; for by feigning to make a treaty, he gained time, was enabled to fortify the Bogue forts, to block up

the river, concentrate a large Tartar army at Canton, and cause Chusan to be restored, which was done in consequence of Captain Elliot's belief in his protestations of friendship. It was on this account that he wished the Emperor to agree to the treaty, as a temporary measure only; for we cannot now suppose that he ever entertained any real intention of acting up to his promise. His sole intention, therefore, in offering the proposed terms, was (to use his own expressive words,) "*that he might bridle and curb us, pro tempore, in order to prepare for exterminating us at some future period;*" when fancying himself sufficiently prepared, he would throw off his assumed mask of friendship.

Before, however, we turn to contemplate the losses sustained in consequence of our having been the dupes of Keshen's diplomacy, we must remember that the expedition was fitted out with no intention of waging war on the Chinese, but

mainly to demand reparation for injuries received, and a guarantee for the future.

We are yet in ignorance as to the nature of Captain Elliot's instructions. Pacific measures were, no doubt, enjoined, and recourse to hostilities forbidden till all other measures had failed; but it cannot be denied, that fair and conciliatory measures were tried too long, and with no effect; for it is very evident that Keshen was sent down with no intention of acting up to the assurances given at the Peiho.

It is more than probable, that had the action of the 7th of January, 1841, been vigorously followed up by the total destruction of the Bogue forts, and had we then advanced on Canton, we could have dictated our own terms with greater facility than we afterwards did in May. To some this may seem rather a rash mode of procedure; but when it is taken into consideration that we had then 1,300 men, besides seamen, (who could have

been landed on an emergency), all in perfect health, the season in our favour, and no concentration of Chinese troops against us, the proposition is not so totally impossible. But it was owing to delay, and trusting to the *Punica fides* of the Chinese, that our affairs were ruined; and the same remark is, indeed, applicable to all the operations of this expedition. Had we, on the first arrival of the expedition, demolished the Bogue forts, destroyed Amoy, Ningpo, and *then* appeared off the Peiho, all our demands would have been acceded to; there would have been none of the enormous waste of life at Chusan; no barbarities inflicted on Mrs. Noble, a widowed lady, at Ningpo; none of the heavy losses on our merchants; while the expedition would have terminated, in all probability, honourably to our arms and national character, instead of being now again to commence. Of the final termination indeed of the contest no one can yet form any opinion; for

the terrors of our warfare are daily decreasing, the mandarins being well aware that delay injures our strength in a far greater degree than any hostilities they can carry on against us.

CHAPTER V.

Battle of the Bogue—Action at first Bar—Expedition up the Broadway—Peasantry assist our sailors—Operations on the river—Arrival of Major-General Sir Hugh Gough—Arrival of the squadron from Chusan—Restoration of prisoners—Capitulation of Canton—Chinese policemen—Breaches of truce—Keshen's proclamations.

For a few days previously to the return of the Nemesis from the Bogue, which, as I have already mentioned, brought news so entirely fatal to Captain Elliot's hoped-for termination of hostilities, Sir Gordon Bremer had been on a visit to Macao. Immediately, however, on receiving intelligence from the Plenipotentiary that events had occurred which would necessarily lead to an immediate resumption of hostilities, the Commodore dispatched a light squadron, under Cap-

tain Herbert, to the Bogue, to remain there till the arrival of the squadron. The object of this movement, was to put a stop to all further preparations on the part of the Chinese, and at the same time to prevent them from blocking up the river. Sir Gordon himself immediately proceeded to Hong Kong, where the squadron was assembled, and by the unwearied exertions of both officers and men, on the morning of the 22nd of February, the squadron sailed in line of battle, for the Bogue. In consequence of the paucity of troops, the flag was, *pro tempore*, struck on Hong Kong, to enable us to proceed with the entire force. Owing, however, to light winds, the squadron and transports had not assembled till the 25th at the Bogue.

On our arrival there, we found that Captain Herbert, with his light squadron, had been actively engaged with the enemy; and by our own observation, it was very evident that no exaggerated

reports of the hostile preparations on the part of the Chinese had been conveyed to us, as not only had the old forts been greatly strengthened, but likewise many defences, erected since our departure in the preceding month, were mounted with numerous cannon; while the surrounding heights were covered with entrenched camps containing, together with the garrisons in the forts, upwards of 7,000 men.

By information elicited from a prisoner taken after the arrival of the advanced squadron, (singularly enough, our *quondam* friend, the *medico* of Tycock-tow,) Captain Herbert was enabled to make several judicious and well-directed attacks on the out-posts of the enemy, which effectually prevented the continuation of hostile preparations. In one affair, in the channel at the back of Anunghoy Island, a flotilla of the boats of the men-of-war, co-operating with the Nemesis, the whole under the

command of Captain Herbert, took a very strong battery, and dispersed a large body of troops, with a very trifling loss on our side; the enemy, however, did not suffer much, as by a precipitate flight, the greater number of them escaped. In this battery, and some other small outworks, ninety-five pieces of ordnance were captured and destroyed. The entire force consisted of the Wellesley, Blenheim, and Melville, 74; Calliope, Herald, Samarang, and Alligator, 28; Modeste, 18; Sulphur, 8; one large steamer, the Queen, and two lighter, the Madagascar and Nemesis.

The forts now to be attacked, were North and South Anunghoy, on the right side of the river, both very large and heavy batteries, and well constructed. Nearly abreast of these, and mid-channel, is the island of North Wangtong, the defences on which consisted of a strong line of heavy battery on the east; on the west, a double tier of battery, crowned by a

small circular fort, built on a hill; while the north and south were protected by heavy sand-bag batteries, recently erected. Within all these, independent of the troops required to man the defences, was an encampment containing 2,000 men.

The Island of South Wangtong, was unoccupied; and it seems strange that the Chinese, after all the care they had bestowed in fortifying North Wangtong, should have neglected to retain possession of this key to the forts; as it not only commanded North Wangtong, but was not more than eight hundred yards distant from the other forts, while a landing could be effected on it, without being greatly exposed to their fire. On this island 150 men of the 37th Madras Native Infantry, and a party of the Royal and Madras Artillery, with three howitzers, were landed, on the evening of the 25th, under the command of Captain Knowles, of the Royal Artillery. The Chinese immediately opened fire on

them, which, as our men had taken up a position sheltered on all sides, did no harm. This fire the enemy kept up all night, but towards morning, it ceased. During the night, our men were employed in placing the howitzers in position; while in this duty, they were constantly under the fire of the enemy, which fortunately, however, injured no one; and at daylight, we opened on North Wangtong. The fire, particularly with shells and rockets, was very effective, and destroyed the different outworks, obliging the Chinese to abandon them, and retire into the forts.

It had been previously arranged that the squadron should weigh at daylight on the 26th, but this was frustrated by its falling calm, with a strong ebb tide; the ships were therefore obliged to remain at anchor and await the flood.

The capture of the two Anunghoy forts was entrusted to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, having under his command the

Melville 74 and Queen steamer, with a flotilla of rocket boats. About half past ten A.M., the Blenheim got under weigh; her progress, however, was but slow, owing to the lightness of the wind. She was followed by the Melville, considerably astern. Shortly after, the remainder of the squadron got under weigh, and stood slowly towards the other forts. The day being most lovely, and the river smooth as glass, it was an exciting and superb sight to observe these fine ships all moving majestically onwards towards their work of destruction. The surrounding heights were covered with troops, posted on commanding points, and protected by small sand bag batteries.

The action commenced about noon, by the Queen firing at a battery, which as well as the lower Anunghoy fort opened on her and the Blenheim, before they got within range. The latter ship did not fire a shot till she let go her anchor, about six hundred yards from the fort, when

she clewed up all her sails and opened her broadside. In a few minutes, the Melville came to her assistance, and took up her position a short distance ahead of the Blenheim, about four hundred yards from the fort. The Chinese kept up the action here for some time with great spirit, but the terrific broadsides of the two line-of-battle ships, at length drove the Tartars from their guns; on seeing which, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse landed at the head of the marines and small-arm men, and driving all before him, carried these fine forts.

Upon this occasion, the Chinese did not lose so many men as might have been expected, whilst on our side success had been obtained with but a very trifling loss. If, however, numerically, the enemy had been no great sufferers, that day's encounter cost them the life of their brave old Admiral, for both Kwan and his second in command, fell by bayonet wounds received in their breasts, whilst

gallantly leading on their men to an attack. A day scarcely elapsed, before an application was made by the family of the deceased to be permitted to possess all that remained of their departed relative; a request which was followed by an immediate and unhesitating compliance. Eventually the remains of the gallant admiral were borne away by his friends, under a salute of minute guns from the Blenheim, as a token of that respect, which by a generous and a civilized enemy is scrupulously rendered to a departed and valiant foe.

Whilst one division of our ships, as has been stated, was engaged with the Anunghoy batteries, the remainder of the squadron had taken up their positions off North Wangtong. Opposite to the North Western shore of this little island lay the Herald, and in the named sequence in a curved line. South of her were anchored the six following ships: the Calliope, the Modeste, the Samarang, the

Alligator, the Wellesley, and the Druid. It was a glorious sight to behold this gallant navy riding upon the waters, and the beauty of the scene was still further enhanced by the loveliness of the day. When the thunders of our artillery begun, there was no motion in the air; indeed so calm was it, that the ships were frequently obliged to cease firing, in order to allow the smoke to clear away. With great spirit, for a time, the Chinese returned our fire; but about half past one P. M., it began to slacken, and a landing was effected under the walls of the western fort, at the base of a steep but short ascent. The Chinese made hardly any attempt at resistance, but were driven before us, and the pursuers and pursued entered the large fort at the same time, on the walls of which in a few minutes more, we had the satisfaction of hoisting the old "meteor flag of England," a sight which was greeted with three cheers. The fortifications were so situated, and the position

so favoured by nature, that had the Chinese made any determined resistance, our loss must have been great. But what could be expected of men, whose officers, it was afterwards ascertained had deserted them before the action commenced; they only deserve the greater praise for the manner in which they defended their positions.

The loss on the side of the enemy was about 300, the round shot telling with hideous effect on their masses of men. About 1,300 were taken prisoners, whom we afterwards set at liberty, retaining only 100 to bury the dead.

In the course of the afternoon, the Nemesis having in tow the marines of the Wellesley, was sent to capture and to destroy a small fort on the western side of the river, which had previously been silenced by the Modeste. This was accomplished without any loss on our side, but in consequence of the

opposition offered, many Chinese were killed. Having spiked the guns on leaving, the fort as well as an encampment were set on fire, which served as a bonfire to light up the evening of this memorable day. Thus fell, without the loss of a man killed, and with but a few wounded, these splendid forts. The ordnance taken, was of various sizes and calibre, for a list of which see Appendix A, Table II.

That such a result had not been anticipated by the Chinese, may be inferred from the fact of our finding various pictures representing the total annihilation of our squadron, many ships being depicted on fire, while others, from the destructive fire of the Chinese, had sunk.

Early in the morning of the 27th, the advanced squadron under the command of Captain Herbert, sailed up the river, the Plenipotentiary accompanying them.

On passing Tiger Island, they found the batteries deserted. The squadron met with no opposition till they arrived off the first Bar, where the Chinese had taken up a strong position, in which 2,000 men were encamped, behind a strong and heavy battery of 44 guns. An immense raft, or rather it might be called a floating street, was here moored across to prevent our passing up the river; inside of which was anchored a 1,200 ton ship, late the Chesapeake, now carrying a Chinese Admiral's flag, red at the main: this ship was armed with 32 guns and had a large squadron of war junks in company*. Our entire force did not amount to 400 men; but as soon as they effected a landing, under cover of the guns from the ships, the

* Howqua informed Captain Elliot, that this raft cost 200,000 dollars, or £45,000: indeed the amount of money expended by the Chinese Government throughout this war, in their preparations for defense must have been enormous.

Chinese took to flight, not however without wounding several of our men, while the loss on their side was at least 200. I was informed by an officer who was present, that some of the mandarins and soldiers showed great courage, the officers making several attempts to rally their men, and finding all their efforts ineffectual, rushed on our bayonets, and so perished.

Captain Elliot having determined to push on as far as possible, and the force in advance not being sufficiently numerous, it was necessary that a larger force should be sent up. Accordingly Sir Gordon Bremer himself proceeded on the 1st to Whampoa, with large reinforcements, in steamers and transports. The following day was passed in various preparations, the Sulphur being employed in surveying the river, and the boats of the ships, in capturing Chinese craft, for the conveyance of troops. As the Sulphur was proceeding up the river, with the boats of the Welles-

ley in tow, the Chinese opened fire on them, from a masked battery; upon which the crews landed and after some fighting, drove the enemy from their position, with the loss of one man killed, and a few wounded on our side, while the Chinese lost about twenty.

Our progress here was but slow, and the service most harassing to both officers and men, as the whole way up to Canton, the navigation was impeded by rafts, sunken junks, and stones, all of which required to be removed before the ships could proceed.

On the 4th, the troops were in readiness to attack a large fort, which rejoiced in the name of Howqua's Folly,* but all our preparations were, as usual, frustrated by a flag of truce, appearing from the boat

* All the forts in this part of the river are called *Follys*, and the appellation might have been extended further, without any injury to Chinese science. Howqua most probably paid for this fort;—hence its honourable name.

of a linguist, who came to say that the *Quan-chow-foo*, or Prefect of Canton, and Howqua, were desirous of an interview with the Plenipotentiary. As a matter of course this was acceded to, and about noon they arrived, strange as it may seem, accompanied by the American Vice Consul and a Spanish gentleman; Howqua, not being an official character, was not admitted to the interview. An armistice in consequence was agreed on for three days. Howqua informed us, that Keshen was utterly degraded, and sent in chains to Pekin: we had previously heard that he had been disgraced and superseded, and also that three new commissioners were coming from Pekin, with *exterminating* powers. There was, in fact, no one to negociate with, and it is supposed that these officers merely came down, to beg that the city might be spared.

On the 5th of March, the new Commander in chief of the army, Major General Sir H. Gough, arrived from Madras

in H.M.S. Cruizer, as did also several of H.M.S. from Chusan, which I have before mentioned had been restored to the Chinese, in terms of the previously-hoped-for treaty. We also received the welcome news that our friends in captivity were released, considerable apprehension having been entertained concerning their fate, on the resumption of hostilities.

The armistice having expired without any good results, it was deemed adviseable to attack Lord Napier's fort, situated higher up, on an island at the confluence of the branches of the river, and which were further protected by an entrenched camp, constructed on the left bank of the river. On the morning of the 7th, the troops under Sir Hugh Gough, landed on the same side as the camp, while the ships were directed to attack the fort. Immediately the Chinese observed the ships weigh, they fired off all their guns and ran away. We were subsequently informed

that this waste of powder and shot took place, in consequence of the Chinese military authorities supposing that by this, they (to use the Chinese expression) "saved their face," or character. Well might the line,

"Begone brave army, and don't kick up a row,"

be applied to these men. In the mean time, the troops were advancing most gallantly, knee-deep in mud. Seeing, to our surprise, the Union Jack waving on the camp, it was thought proper to return, and thus ended the memorable march in the Paddy fields, which, although it may not have added any fresh *lustre* to the British arms, certainly afforded much amusement to those engaged in the exploit. It is worthy of remark, that all the guns captured in these forts bore an inscription on the chase commemorative of the defeat (as they called their inhuman treatment) of the late Lord Napier, after whom, this fort was called. In the afternoon, Captain

Elliot addressed a proclamation to the people of Canton, inserted in Appendix B.

After remaining here a few days, the troops returned to the Bogue, leaving Captain Herbert in command at Whampoa, with twelve sail of men-of-war, to protect the merchant shipping, and also to prevent the Chinese from making any further hostile preparations. No operations were carried on during the next week; but occasionally the Chinese, by firing on our boats, while surveying, obliged us to retaliate, and drive them from their positions.

An expedition, under Captain Scott of H.M.S. Samarang, having the Plenipotentiary with him, proceeded up the Broadway, a passage of the Canton river never before navigated by any European vessel. This force took and destroyed several small forts and mandarin stations, and otherwise harassed the enemy. In addition to the natural difficulty of the navi-

gation, the passage was much obstructed with stakes, placed there to prevent our advance. The peasantry, however, came to us voluntarily and assisted the seamen in clearing them away; manifesting no signs of fear or distrust, and none of hostility; they also rendered us, in other respects, every assistance in their power.

On the 17th, I accompanied Sir Gordon Bremer to the scene of action, where we found that the Chinese had again been the aggressors, having fired on a flag of truce; in consequence of which the Macao fort had been taken, and the ships were now laying about two miles below Canton. The next day, the Plenipotentiary, when on his way to Canton, was fired on while under a flag of truce, in consequence of which it was determined to carry all the intermediate defences and invest the city.

On the morning of the 18th March, the steamers and ships being all in readiness for an attack, the signal was made, about 9 A.M. to weigh. Our force consisted

of the Modeste 18, Algerine 10, Nemesis and Madagascar steamers, with the tender to the flag ship and cutter belonging to Captain Elliot. The marines belonging to the ships were in their respective boats, and formed a division, under the command of Captain Bouchier, the number of men employed, amounting to 783.

The Chinese defences consisted of a very large and strong fort, above a large raft: between which and the town, was anchored a fleet of mandarin boats, together with a flotilla of gun-boats, built by Lin on the European model, armed with two guns each, and originally intended to drive the British squadron from the coasts.

The Nemesis had the satisfaction of commencing this day's work, opening her fire when about 800 yards from the field battery, which was strongly situated on a rising ground covered with trees, and surrounded with Paddy land; this was called the "Garden battery." After

the steamer had been firing about ten minutes, the Modeste got her broadside to bear, which not only soon cleared away the trees, but also for a time silenced the battery; from which we could see the soldiers escaping in numbers, their progress considerably accelerated by shot, which threw up the mud around them in all directions. While the Modeste was thus engaged, the Nemesis broke through the raft, quickly followed by the Algerine, and boats containing the marines and small-arm-men. Above the raft, almost every house was converted into a masked battery, the garrison of which, kept up an incessant fire, doing however but slight injury. Leaving the Algerine to settle the gun-boats and war-junks, the Nemesis pushed on in chase of the numerous boats that were escaping up the river, throwing an occasional shot among them, much to the detriment of their masts and spars. While engaged in this amusing occupation, a small fort situated up a creek of the river, mounting 9 guns,

opened on the steamer. Upon this Captain Bethune, who had command of this division, immediately pushed off, and attacked the fort. The Tartars, who composed the garrison, made a most determined resistance, and we observed them shooting arrows at us, through the embrasures, while their comrades loaded the guns. At length we effected a landing, but the enemy had as usual escaped, carrying off their wounded. In this fort, I found great quantities of female dress, and was informed that the soldiers believe that any part of the attire of the other sex, renders the wearer invulnerable. After spiking the guns, we returned to the boats; but our attention being attracted by the firing in the direction of the factories, we pulled round and had the satisfaction of finding the British colours, waving in the garden. The flag of truce was now hoisted, but it had not been up five minutes, before the Chinese again commenced firing; when down came the emblem of peace, and

hostilities recommenced. We then captured the Dutch and French follies, after which the flag again went up, but some of the gun-boats which had not had any share in the action, and hoped to do something to retrieve the honour of their country, again commenced firing. For a second time the white flag came down, and the gun-boats were captured. Peace, however, had not been restored ten minutes, before some *tiger-hearted** Tartars commenced firing from a small battery; the same ceremony was, therefore, again observed with regard to the flag. At length, after five successive truces, and as many breaches of truce, we were allowed to hold undisputed possession of the factories, singularly enough exactly two years after Lin's first edict against the opium trade. Thus was this enormous town, and the vast property it contained, the lives of the inhabitants, and the existence of the town itself,

* Such is the literal translation of the term applied to this particular body of men.

dependant on our forbearance. Our power we used in the most lenient manner possible. No ransom was demanded by us; we only insisted that trade should go on as formerly, and that protection should be assured to the inhabitants. I fear that our quality of mercy did not bless those that gave, however much we know it blessed those who were the receivers of our bounty.

Soon after we had got possession of the factories and had placed sentries over them, a large mob assembled, attracted by the novelty of the scene. Some city police were, therefore, sent to keep them in order; and it was truly ludicrous to see the four old policemen manage the "great unwashed," their batons being merely Bamboo canes, which they gently used, expostulating with the people, and pointing out the impropriety of their conduct without having recourse to the *argumentum bacculinum*, like a London policeman. In a very short time the mob was dispersed, and we

were able to walk out and see the town, or rather as much of it as was unlocked, for every door and gate was barred and bolted, as if in a siege. At the entrance to old China Street, on the most conspicuous part we found proclamations issued by the Lieutenant Governor of Canton, and further ratified by the seal of "scrupulous good faith," Keshen, offering rewards for the heads of both officers and men, as well as some merchants. The original, Appendix C, will show the reliance to be placed on Chinese faith and honour.

Guards and sentries were now posted to keep possession of the factories for the night, and Captain Elliot returned to his ship. Just as we got on board, a fire was opened on us within one hundred yards of the steamer. Down again came the white flag, and three or four shot made the owner of the house repent having turned his domicile into a battery. In this perfidious manner, terminated the day of the capitulation of Canton.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrangements relative to the trade and treaty—Great distrust manifested both by Chinese and British—Murder of Captain Stead, and hostility shown along the coast to H.M.S. Columbine—Murder of Messrs. Bligh, Toole and Field, by the Chinese at Macao—Breach of treaty and preparations for an attack on Canton—The Chinese attack the fleet and ransack the factories—The rafts set fire to Canton—Action between Algerine and battery—Factories occupied by the troops under Major Pratt—Force proceeds up the river—Description of boats—Reconnaissance—Description of Joss house and garden—False alarm.

HAVING thus obtained possession of the provincial city, the succeeding days were passed in arranging matters for the re-opening of the trade. In order to satisfy the authorities, and allay the fears

of the native merchants, and to give them greater confidence, as they objected to the men-of-war lying within gun shot of the city, Captain Elliot moved the ships down the river to a distance of two miles; leaving only a guard of marines in the factory. The remainder were quartered in the Macao fort, about two miles distant, and ready to act in case of any treachery.

During the remainder of this month, merchants continued to return to Canton, and trade went on as usual. In the mean time, the new commissioners from Pekin, who superseded Keshen, had arrived. I am not aware that Captain Elliot had any personal interview with them, his communications being carried on through the Prefect of Canton. They immediately, however, assented to the existing state of affairs, and gave assurances of their desire to maintain peace; in consequence of which, Captain Elliot issued a notice to the mercantile commu-

nity, for which see Appendix D; they at the same time, issuing one of similar purport to the Chinese, as also did Captain Elliot, having previously obtained permission from the Commissioner.

I may here mention, that the terms of the treaty were, a suspension of hostilities, and of all preparations, offensive and defensive, on the part of the Chinese; they, at the same time, allowing the trade to go on in the usual manner. On the faith of the above-mentioned communications, and in compliance with the treaty, trade continued to be carried on; still, however, in a very uncertain manner; nor was this feeling of distrust alleviated by the promulgation of some very violent edicts from Pekin, while the real spirit of the Chinese was shown in its true light on the coast, by the barbarous murder of Captain Stead, commanding one of the transports, (vide Appendix E). In consequence of this atrocious act, Captain Clarke, of H.M.S. Columbine, was dispatched by the Plenipotentiary,

to make inquiries relative to it, conveying also a communication from Captain Elliot to the local authorities. On his arrival, Captain Clarke met with a spirit of most uncompromising hostility; the Chinese threatening to fire on the ship, nor would they consent to receive the letter. In addition to this, while the Blenheim was laying off Macao, a melancholy fate befel Messrs. Bligh and Toole, two of her officers, in company with Mr. Field chief officer of a merchant vessel. These gentlemen were proceeding at night to their ships, (laying at a considerable distance from the shore,) in a small cutter; being obliged, however, to anchor, as there was no wind, and a strong adverse tide running, their vessel was suddenly boarded by a large Chinese boat, which immediately sailed away, carrying off these unfortunate officers. The crew of lascars by whom the cutter was manned, described the whole affair as the work of a moment, and that they were themselves so paralyzed with fear, as to be incapable

of rendering any assistance, nor were they able to give a very clear account of the disaster. They are not suspected of having been accessories. None of these officers were ever seen again; but the body of Mr. Field was found three days after, washed ashore by the tide. Large rewards were offered by the Plenipotentiary, in order to lead to the detection of the murderers, if such they were, but with no effect. It is supposed that they were carried off by the son of Admiral Kwan, (who was killed at the Bogue), who had received permission from the Emperor thus to avenge his father's death. These events, together with the reports of extensive armaments being carried along the coast, were by no means in unison with the professions of the authorities at Canton.

Sir G. Bremer, at this time, proceeded to Calcutta, leaving Sir Le Fleming Senhouse as Senior officer.

Towards the middle of May, as by that time Captain Elliot had nearly

accomplished his original design of getting the teas of the season out of the river, preparations were made for a movement to the north, but in consequence of the arrival at Canton of many thousand troops, and the Chinese having commenced re-building one of the forts near the factories (which, as I have before mentioned, they had expressly stipulated should not be repaired), it was evident that treachery was intended. The excuses offered by them for these violations of the truce were, that the troops had been sent down by the Emperor before the treaty became known at Pekin, and that sufficient time had not elapsed to counter-order their advance. A panic seemed to have seized every one—most of the Chinese of property began to quit Canton, as also did the British merchants. Captain Elliot, in order to show that he had no apprehension of perfidy on the part of the Chinese, proceeded thither, accompanied by Mrs. Elliot. On his arrival on the 10th, he had several inter-

views with the Prefect, the object of which was not known; but the result was, that on His Excellency's return to Macao, the expedition to the north was abandoned, and a movement was determined to be made on Canton.

In order fully to show the necessity for this determination, caused by the extreme treachery of the Chinese, it is here proper to observe, that from the period of the capitulation of the city, the authorities had been secretly making vast preparations, casting new guns, concentrating an immense body of men, and a large flotilla of war-junks and fire-ships; while they had continued, from time to time, to make friendly professions, to allay any suspicions that might have been excited, in order to throw us off our guard, and thus obtain time to mature the dreadful tragedy they had in contemplation, namely, the indiscriminate massacre of the British in their factories.

On the 20th, the Prefect issued the edict, inserted in Appendix F. This,

however, had not the designed effect of allaying the fears of the residents; the more so, as on the 21st, Captain Elliot published the following circular:—

"In the present situation of circumstances, H.B.M.'s Plenipotentiary feels it his duty to recommend, that the British, and other foreigners, now remaining in the factories, should retire before sunset."

This was prudently attended to by all the British merchants, who left Canton that evening.

During the early part of the night, there was no appearance of any immediate attack, but at 11 P.M., the sentry on the forecastle of the Modeste observed several boats coming down with the ebb tide. When at a short distance from the ship, he hailed them; on which they were immediately set on fire, and so close were they, that many of the "*water-braves*," or militia, who composed their crews, were

shot while swimming away. Simultaneously with the explosion of these fire-ships, the Chinese opened a furious cannonade from the surrounding batteries, which continued all night, without however doing any serious harm, except wounding a few men, and but slightly injuring the ships. When the factories were evacuated, Captain Elliot repaired on board H.M. cutter, Louisa, in company with the Aurora schooner, belonging to Mr. Dent. These two vessels, during this attack on the men-of-war, lay at anchor off the factories, and from there being no wind, and a strong adverse tide running, were unable to move, but were exposed to the fire of the enemy for several hours; by veering cable, they, however, in some degree escaped injury from the shot which fell around. I may here mention another instance of the perfidy on the part of the Chinese, and that, too, in the face of the Prefect's pacific manifesto. A large gun had, during the afternoon,

been brought down close to the factories, and placed in a position so as to bear on the Louisa; the shot from which, had she not avoided by veering cable, would most likely have sunk her.

Early on the morning of the 22nd, the Chinese troops broke into the factories, ransacking and destroying every thing in the most ruthless manner possible, while the mandarins were seen carrying off large quantities of booty into the city, stolen from the merchants' warehouses. These ruffians did not even spare the chapel, destroying and defacing the tombs. So that with our firing, and the pillage of the Chinese, the factories presented a melancholy spectacle.

The men-of-war and transports had, in the mean time, arrived from Hong Kong, and with the Blenheim, 74, were laying only six miles distant from Canton. The two following days were spent in harassing the enemy as much as possible, and in collecting boats for the con-

veyance of the troops. An expedition also which proceeded to survey above Canton, under the command of Captain Belcher, destroyed an immense number of gun-boats and fire-ships, capturing some very fine pieces of brass ordnance.

It had been the anxious wish of the Commander-in-Chief that the attack should, if possible, be made on the birth-day of our Gracious Queen; owing however to the extreme difficulty of procuring boats, and from various other causes, it was found impossible to carry his wishes into effect. Arrangements were, however, made to proceed up the river, and take up our position on that auspicious day; in honour of which, at noon, a royal salute was fired. At one P.M., the Sulphur proceeded up the river, to the spot where the debarkation was to be effected; an eligible situation for operations having been discovered, and surveyed by Captain Belcher of that ship. Nearly at the same time,

the light squadron, under Captain Warren, moved up to their positions nearer the town; and on anchoring abreast of the factories, now entirely deserted, were received by some fire-ships which were sent down, while the batteries on all sides opened fire, doing but little harm, owing to their great distance from the ships. The fire-rafts being driven by the wind and tide, were carried in-shore, and set fire to the town, which continued burning for thirty-six hours, doing immense damage, and destroying many streets and warehouses. * The ships' boats were sent to attack the batteries, which they did in most gallant style; driving the enemy out, but not, it must be acknowledged, without great difficulty, and a very severe loss on our side; the Tartars making a most determined resistance, standing by their guns

* By this fire, Howqua sustained a loss of 750,000 dollars, from the total destruction of several of his warehouses.

till the sailors cut them down, hand to hand. The Algerine, 10 guns, in particular, got very severely handled. She had been ordered, in consequence of her light draft of water, to proceed as far as she could, but owing to the very heavy batteries opposed to her, she was unable either to capture them or to proceed; the boats of the Hyacinth and Modeste were therefore sent to tow her off, but they were unable to stem the strength of the tide. Finding, in this situation, that the batteries hulled the ship, Lieutenant Mason determined to capture the forts; and having effected a landing with his reinforcements, in the face of a heavy fire from the batteries, he carried them with a severe loss, and spiked the ordnance, most of which was 10½ inch guns. As an instance of the destructive fire of the Chinese, I may mention, that in the pinnace of the Modeste, out of 15 men and an officer, 1 man was killed, and 6 wounded, besides the officer, who, I regret to add, died in consequence of his wounds.

At 3 P. M. the left column under Major Pratt of the 26th, having under him 15 officers, 294 rank and file of the 26th Regiment, 1 officer and 20 men of the Madras Artillery, 1-6 pr. gun and 1-5½ inch mortar, landed from H.C.S. Atalanta, to hold the factories, of which they immediately took possession, and made every necessary disposition. This column was to remain here, and co-operate with the main body, which was shortly to advance and take up a position in rear of the town, as occasion might require.

Shortly after the troops arrived, Captain Elliot went on shore with a guard, and attracted by cries, forced open the *Consoo* house. Here we found confined, Mr. Cooledge an American merchant, and five or six sailors of that nation. Mr. Cooledge had remained in Canton, notwithstanding the departure of the British merchants, and had, owing to his imprudence, been taken prisoner. He had fortunately escaped without any per-

sonal ill-treatment, but the Chinese had wounded and severely injured some of the sailors. It is a curious fact that the Chinese examined them all, to ascertain that they had no marks tattooed on their arms; as they affirm that the English are the only nation, who mark themselves in this manner, although it is a custom universally practised by seafaring men in particular, of all nations.

At 4 P.M. the right column, under the command of Major General Sir H. Gough passed Canton, in an immense flotilla, towed by the Nemesis. These boats, as I have before mentioned, had been captured during the previous days, and were admirably adapted for the conveyance of troops, as well as to shelter them from the sun. The steamer was full of red coats, while the tail, beneath which Dan O'Connell's must for ever hide its diminished head, was composed of every variety of China craft, from the far up-country tea boat, capable alone of convey-

ing 400 men, and quaintly christened by Jack, "Noah's ark," down to the humble sampan, conveyed about 2,400 fighting men. In fact, what with the novelty of the scene, and the excitement of the service, such a sight was never before witnessed. The scenery around as far as the eye could reach was very beautiful, the fields being in the highest state of culture; while the banks of the river, bordered with hedges, would, to a vigilant enemy, have afforded great facility for harassing our progress.

On arriving at the landing-place, five miles above Canton, at 5 P. M., the 49th Regiment was immediately landed, and after taking possession of two large Joss houses or temples, for as many of the troops as they would contain, proceeded to escort the General in a reconnoissance of the country, which next day would be the scene of action. We were out on this service about three hours, and were able distinctly to ascertain the position

of the enemy, and succeeded in advancing close to a small camp with the advanced guard. The Chinese, however, took the alarm, and threw up some lights, and fired a few random shot. A poor camp follower was carried off, and next day we found his headless trunk; the head having no doubt been cut off, to enable his captor to claim the reward. As night closed around us, it was beautiful to observe the lurid glare of the fires in Canton, which were now blazing up fiercely, and showed the tall masts and spars of the ships distinctly, while the light of the "chaste moon," was completely eclipsed by the brilliancy of our earthly fire.

Having obtained the necessary information, we fell back on our position on the banks of the river. On returning thither, as may well be imagined, we were rather hungry after our march, and it was with much pleasure that I accepted an invitation from a friend of

the Madras artillery, to take some supper. I found the party assembled in the large Joss house, the interior of which presented the most extraordinary sight I ever witnessed; the few lights merely serving to render the darkness visible, and at the same time show the numerous sleeping forms of the soldiers. In the centre of the extreme end, stood the principal altar, adorned with grotesque idols; among these figures I discovered two camp followers, busily employed in taking down a fine Joss; to serve, no doubt, to enrich the collection of Chinese *curios*. In the adjoining apartment, I found our party most zealously engaged in discussing an ample supper, at which I need not add, I had much pleasure in assisting. This important operation being satisfactorily executed, and the necessary number of cheroots smoked, without which no meal to the east of the Cape is reckoned as complete, Captain Gough and I set off to explore the house.

The elegance of the rooms, as well as the chasteness of the decorations and furniture was astonishing, while the beauty and delicacy of the carving, which was lavished around with an unsparing hand, shewed that the Chinese fully merit the praise they have received with regard to their skill in this art. The garden also was in perfect keeping with the character of the building, being laid out in that picturesque style for which the Chinese are so celebrated. The grounds were stocked with many of those extraordinary gigantic shrubs, which are produced by stunting the growth of the plant. One "merrie conceit" in particular attracted our attention: at the end of a short passage was an oval opening, which seemed to terminate in a long walk, but on stepping out we found another garden, laid out in a different style from the last.

After wandering about for nearly two hours, we returned on board the Nemesis;

but had not laid down half an hour, before we were roused by the bugles sounding the alarm; fortunately it proved a false alarm, and the remainder of the night passed away quietly.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER VII.

Attack and capture of the heights of Canton—Number of European and native troops—Entrenched camp—Dispositions for attacking the town on the 27th.—Resumption of negociations—Interview with the Tartar General—Description of Canton and City of the Dead—Attack of Militia—Death of Major Beecher, Quarter Master General—Gallantry of Sepoys—Quit the heights.

At daylight on the 28th of May, the reveillée sounded, and preparations were immediately made for the advance. I may here describe the nature of the position which we had occupied during the night. The large Joss-house in which the artillery had been quartered, was separated from a smaller one by a road leading off in a S.W. direction; while towards the left, was a narrow path,

running along the banks of the river, by which the main body of the troops advanced. In consequence of an alarm having been given that the enemy were advancing in this direction, the General proceeded to reconnoitre, taking with him the 37th Madras Regiment, and the Bengal Volunteers, as an escort. After advancing about a mile, we arrived at a small rising ground, from which we obtained a good view of the city, and found the enemy's pickets posted in every direction, their advanced videttes making use of most insulting gestures, and beating their shields and brandishing their swords, as if in defiance. A party of the escort was ordered to advance and disperse the enemy, and also to dislodge a large body from a strong position they had taken up on the left. Having performed this service, the escort fell back to join the first brigade in the right column.

Our force consisting of 2,343 of all

ranks, was divided into four brigades, under the following officers:

First brigade, left column.—18th Royal Irish and Marines as a reserve, under Major General Burell.

Second Naval brigade, under Captain Bouchier, H.M.S. Blonde.

Third Artillery brigade, under Captain Knowles R.A., having also Madras Artillery, and Sappers and Miners.

Fourth brigade.—H.M. 49th Regiment, 37th Madras Regiment, and one Company of Bengal Volunteers, under Lieutenant Colonel Morris, H.M. 49th Regiment.

The Artillery consisted of four 12 pr. howitzers; four 9 pr. field guns, two 6 pr. field guns, three 5½ inch mortars, one 24 pr. howitzer, besides Congreve rockets.

The line of advance lay over a tract of ground of very uneven surface, intersected by Paddy land, and numerous small hillocks, while all the ground not under cultivation was cut up with grave-stones, this

appearing to be the cemetery of Canton: these tombs rendered dragging the guns a very severe and tedious labour, so much so, that it was found impossible to bring up the heavy 24 pr. gun.

The walls of Canton, running in a southerly direction, were distant about three miles from the point of debarkation, while the heights to the north, and in front, were crowned with four large and very strongly situated forts; two at each extreme of the heights, one in rear of the other. In fact it was these forts that did most of the injury to our men during the day, as they kept up a very spirited fire, and that with much greater precision than I ever before witnesssd on the part of the Chinese. I should imagine that they had previously ascertained the range of the different positions we should be obliged to take up, on our advance.

The advance of the troops being more expeditious than that of the artillery,

the columns were obliged to halt at eight A.M., to await the arrival of the guns; while, from the nature of the ground, the men were well sheltered from the fire of the enemy.

The rocket battery coming up, with two 5½ inch mortars, two 12 pounder howitzers, and two 9 pounder guns, at about nine A.M., a heavy fire was opened on the two western forts. At the same time dispositions were made for an attack in *échellon* of columns from the left; the 49th being ordered to take a hill to the left of the eastern fort, while the Royal Irish were to advance in front, and take a strongly defended hill which covered the approach to the eastern fort. The object of this movement was to cut off the communication between the two forts, and cover the assault of the 49th on the nearest one; while the 18th advancing on the rear fort, these regiments would, at the same time, occupy the two principal forts on

the eastern extremity of the heights. Simultaneously with these attacks on the east, the Naval Brigade was to carry the two western forts; all these movements were to be covered by a heavy fire of shell and rockets.

At ten A.M. the general advance sounded; and on perceiving our troops advance, a large body of Chinese made a sortie from the eastern fort, as if determined to dispute the heights; the Royal Irish, however, giving one good cheer from right to left, threw in a destructive volley. On this, the Chinese turned and ran, being pursued most gallantly up the hill by the 18th. The 49th had, in the mean time, got possession of the front fort, and had the honour of first hoisting the British colours on the heights.* The 18th

* This fort rejoiced in the name of *Sheting Pow, anglicè* "fortress, or asylum, of old age." It may amuse my readers to be informed of the euphonious names which these forts enjoyed. The head-quarters was

regiment, it may be supposed, had a very severe run, but the brave fellows seemed to gather strength as the danger increased, and charging along the ridge which connected the extremities on which the forts were built, exposed to the galling fire of the ramparts of Canton, gallantly captured the fort of "eternal repose." As Sir H. Gough came up, he was greeted with hearty cheers from the 49th; but on his reaching the 18th, his welcome as their leader, but above all, as their countryman, was most enthusiastic. From this point he had the proud satisfaction of seeing the Union Jack waving over all the forts; for while these operations had been going on upon the left, the gallant

Yung-tang-tai, "fortress of eternal repose." The sailors' forts were *Kung-kik-tai*, "fortress of extreme protection," and *Pou-kik-tai*, "fortress of extreme security." The Marines took possession of *Jin-tun-tang*, or "The Hall of Benevolence." It will be afterwards seen how our gallant tars *kicked* the enemy out of their extreme security.

Naval Brigade had nobly done its duty. They, however, had very hard work, and had suffered most severely, for in these two forts the Chinese stood to their guns well; and it was not till our men entered the fort, and cut them down, hand to hand, that we got possession of it. The rear fort was afterwards carried, under a most galling fire from the city walls, not more than eighty yards distant. Many more men were wounded and killed here, after the fort was in our possession, than had been at the storming of it. Among these, were Lieutenant Fox and Mr. Kendall, both of H.M.S. Nimrod, who, while resting after the fatigues of the morning, had each a leg broken by a round shot, and were obliged to submit to amputation. Shortly after this, I regret to add, that Mr. Fox died; Mr. Kendall, however, survived, and next day had the gratification of receiving his lieutenant's commission, dated on the field of battle.

Thus, in less than one hour after the general advance had been sounded, the British troops looked down on Canton within a hundred and fifty yards of its walls, from which we were only separated by a deep and precipitous glen.

Immediately on obtaining possession of the forts, pickets were thrown out in the most sheltered position; while the men who were off duty, were allowed to obtain what rest they were able, after the fatigues of the morning. The Chinese, in the mean time, kept up a constant fire from the city walls, which wounded a few men. From the watch-tower within the head-quarter fort, we could perceive them making preparations for an attack on our position, from a very large entrenched camp, distant about a mile, and separated from the heights by a tract of Paddy land. From this encampment, the enemy made repeated attacks on the outlying pickets of the 49th, which that

regiment most gallantly repulsed. From the rocket battery, in the watch-tower, we also amused the enemy in the camp with a few rockets, which did admirable execution; while from the mortar battery, in the same place, we blew up two of their principal magazines in the city.

At about two P.M., some of the principal mandarins left the city on horseback, and proceeded to the camp. As from this it was evident that the enemy meditated a fresh attack, the General, very considerately, to save them the trouble of coming to us, detached the Royal Irish, and one company of the Royal Marines, under the command of Major-General Burrell, to destroy the camp. During our advance, we were much harassed, both by the nature of the Paddy ground, which allowed the men to advance only in single file, and also by the very heavy and well-directed fire kept up from the N.E. face of the city walls. Nothing, however, could daunt the gal-

lant men, and we succeeded in burning the camp, blowing up the magazines, and dispersing the enemy in all directions. Several of the mandarins' chargers, more properly ponies, being in the camp, broke loose, and alarmed by the fire and the explosions of the magazines, commenced galloping about in all directions, and by their grotesque caparisons, afforded much amusement. In this affair, many of our men and four officers were wounded.

In the course of the evening, the outlying pickets were all strengthened, and inlying ones placed. Sir Hugh Gough also made a reconnaissance of the walls, having determined to take the city by escalade. Thus terminated the evening of the capture of the heights of Canton.

On the morning of the 26th, a flag of truce was shown on the city walls, and a parley ensuing, a mandarin informed us that they wished for peace, and at the same time, requested an interview

with Sir Hugh Gough. As this was not the identical rebel-quelling Commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh most properly refused to have a personal interview with him, or with any other officer except that renowned warrior; but added, that he would meet the Chinese General in two hours, in a tent pitched half way between our lines and the city walls. If, however, within that time the General did not make his appearance, the white flag would be removed. As might have been anticipated, no one came at the appointed time, and the flag was struck, but the Chinese did not take down their flag of truce. The remainder of the day was passed in getting the guns and mortars into position, in bringing up ammunition from the landing-place, and in removing the wounded—labours which were rendered the more severe from the rain, which fell in torrents, but which was patiently borne by all, in the hope of a good day's work and fine weather on the

morrow. All things being now prepared, orders were given for opening the batteries at seven A.M., and for a general assault at eight, in four columns. The different parts of the wall to be escaladed, were about forty or fifty feet high; but this by battering, we hoped to reduce to twenty or twenty-five.

As may be supposed, every one was ready early on the 27th; the guns were all loaded, and only waiting the word from the General (who was making his final inspection,) to commence firing. At this moment a naval officer, who had been travelling all night, arrived, bearing a dispatch from Captain Elliot, enjoining a cessation of hostilities; and at the same time, informing Sir Hugh, that negociations were in progress for the ransom of the city. Of course, there remained but one course—to obey. I will not attempt to describe the feelings throughout the whole force at this announcement.

In the course of the forenoon, *Yang*, the

third in command of the Tartar army, had an interview with Sir Hugh Gough from the ramparts. He appeared a decrepid old man, but exhibited his button and cap, the latter decorated with a double-eyed peacock's feather, with much satisfaction, at the same time throwing down a couple of massive gold bracelets, which were of course refused. At parting, Sir Hugh told the old gentleman, that at some future day, he trusted he would visit Ireland; in which case he should receive as hearty a welcome as he had given Sir Hugh at the capture of the heights. As the troops were to remain here until the ransom was forthcoming, and to enforce payment if necessary, the men were made as comfortable in their quarters as circumstances would permit.

As according to the terms of the agreement of ransom, the Tartar troops were to evacuate Canton, and march out, without colours or music, to a distance of sixty miles, the necessary arrange-

ments were made on the 28th, to carry that agreement into effect.

The 29th was devoted to numerous exploring parties round the various positions, and in the villages near Canton, in many of which, were some curious Joss-houses. One suburb of the city deserves particular mention; being, in the literal acceptation of the term, a City of the Dead.* It consisted of a well-built town, which was apparently not inhabited by living beings, but devoted entirely to the tenants of the tomb. The front of the houses was appropriated to the worship of Joss, while the back part was divided into several small chambers, each containing several coffins, arranged on elevated platforms, and surrounded with incense burners. The outside of these chambers was tastefully ornamented with beautiful

* The Chinese call this suburb *Shoang-shan-sze*, "Double-hill Temple," from the very peculiar position in which it is built.

creeping plants, while over the doorway, were generally inscribed some Chinese characters. The coffins were very thick, and made of camphor-wood; and when opened, contained embalmed bodies in the highest preservation. Each "tenant of his narrow bed," being attired in his best clothes, presented no unpleasing image of our long sleep. One coffin in particular contained a mandarin, dressed in full uniform, with rich satin robes and cap and button, denoting the rank of the deceased; one hand held a fan, and the other a Chinese chop, perchance a letter to Charon, while some money was arranged on his breast, in the form of a cross, intended no doubt as a fee for the boatmen. The Chinese are, I believe, very particular in paying respect to the memory of their ancestors, which may in some degree account for the extreme neatness of this immense mausoleum.

From the heights we had a good view of the town, the circuit of which

is perhaps eight miles; it is surrounded by a high wall, defended in many places by cannon. The town is divided into the outer town, and the city; the former part is nearest the river, and contains the factories, Hong merchants' residences, and shops frequented by foreigners. The front of the British factory is handsome, and the official residence contains some fine public rooms, while the remainder is rented from Howqua (who is the sole and wealthy proprietor,) by the different mercantile firms. From this source alone, he derives a considerable fortune. By the regulations of the government, foreigners are confined entirely to the factories, except on the 28th and 29th of each month. This rule is, however, a dead letter, and is merely mentioned to show the extreme jealousy of the Chinese in everything relating to foreigners. The city is separated from the town by walls, and no foreigners are ever permitted to enter its precincts, which contain all

the government-offices, and residences of the principal mandarins. The whole town has a mean and wretched appearance, the houses being very low and ill-built; the only relief to the eye is one or two pagodas, and some large temples: one of the former of these, called *Woo-tseng-low*, or the five-storied pagoda, is a hideous red building, opposite our head-quarters. We had no means of forming any idea as to the extent of the population, most of the inhabitants who were able having sought safety in flight before our arrival. All the boats in the river, also, which, it is said, contain a population of 50,000 people, had fled; but, judging from the extent of ground covered with buildings, I should hardly rate the entire population at more than 600,000 souls.

At an interview with the Prefect, he informed Captain Elliot that the distress was very great, in consequence of the state of blockade in which the town was

placed; for, owing to our occupation of the heights, no provisions could enter on the land side, while the ships effectually blockaded the river entrances. The inhabitants were consequently reduced to the last extremity; in addition to these miseries, a civil war had been carrying on between the Tartar and Chinese troops, with a heavy loss on both sides; so that the authorities were very glad to get us away with six million dollars, as the ransom. This sum, under their straightened circumstances, might have been increased to twenty; which they were not only able to pay, but would have done so gladly.

In the evening, the beautiful band of the 18th Regiment played for some time after parade, and it must have been by no means pleasing to the Chinese to hear "God save the Queen," played on the heights overlooking their conquered city; while the cheers of the gallant tars, borne along by the breeze, on the band striking

up "Rule Britannia," assured them of the indomitable spirit of the men with whom they had to deal.

On the morning of Sunday the 30th, we were alarmed by the report that a large body of Chinese were advancing on our rear. These we at first suspected to be a part of the Tartar troops who had marched out two days before, and who hoped to take us by surprise. As they continued to increase in numbers, and seemed determined on hostilities, the General immediately ordered the 26th, (who had joined the main body a day or two before, leaving the factories in possession of the naval forces,) together with the 37th Madras regiment, and three companies of the 49th, with the necessary artillery and rockets, to advance and meet the enemy. On descending from the heights, we found them in greater numbers than we had previously imagined. The weather was most unfavourable for active operations,

being dreadfully sultry and oppressive; so much so, that many men were obliged by illness to return to quarters; while Major Beecher, Quarter-Master-General, fell dead at my side from a *coup de soleil*. As it threatened rain, and the enemy showed no intention of retiring, it became necessary to disperse them before the storm came on. Accordingly, the General ordered the troops to advance, under the immediate command of Major Pratt; on seeing which, the Chinese, as usual began to retire, followed by our troops for nearly two miles. In the mean time, the storm broke; the thunder and lightning were most awful, while the rain poured down in torrents, and with such violence as to prevent our seeing a few yards in front; thus cutting off the General and staff from the troops, and leaving them unprotected;—a most unpleasant situation. Having dispersed the enemy in all directions, Major Pratt ordered the troops to fall back on their original

position. This, however, occupied some time, owing to the vast flood of rain which had inundated the fields, totally destroying every vestige of a path, and rendering the march most fatiguing.

In this affair, the native troops most nobly upheld the high character they have always borne, and the cordial manner in which Sir Hugh Gough welcomed them on their return, shaking hands with the European and native officers individually, must have been highly gratifying to their feelings. When all had re-assembled preparatory to returning home, we discovered that one company of the 37th, which had been detached to the left during the advance, had not rejoined, but was missing. As it was now late, and the rain had rendered the muskets useless, it was judged advisable to send out a company of marines, armed with percussion locks, to assist the missing sepoys;* and after a

* Were any other instance wanting to show the superiority of the percussion over the flint lock, this

long and fatiguing march, the marines (directed by some random shots,) at last discovered them, surrounded by many hundred Chinese, and drawn up in a square. It appeared that in this position they had gallantly resisted the repeated attacks of this body of Chinese, many times their number; while the enemy being armed with long spears, had cut several of them down in the ranks. They had thus lost a few killed and several wounded. Among the latter, was Lieutenant Berkeley, who was wounded by a Chinese, with a musket taken from a fallen sepoy. The Chinese, ignorant of the nature of the lock, took deliberate aim, opened the pan, and applying the match of his own matchlock to the damp powder, discharged the piece, which lodged the ball in Berkeley's arm.

day's work would be alone sufficient. The sepoys' muskets were rendered useless by the rain, while those of the marines, having percussion locks, were not affected in the slightest degree.

The arrival of these men in quarters, as may be supposed, gave universal pleasure; the main body of the force had in the mean time returned to head-quarters.

As on the next day the same body, with considerable reinforcements, appeared on the surrounding hills, Sir Hugh Gough deemed it advisable to send an intimation to the Prefect, that unless he issued orders to them immediately to disperse, he should consider the warfare carried on with the sanction of the authorities, and would attack the city. This remonstrance, together with their knowledge of the General's determination of purpose, caused no little alarm; so much so, that a mandarin was immediately despatched from the city, intreating the insurgents to disperse. At the same time, we got a gun to bear on their position, and sent troops out in all directions, ready to enforce the orders, should it be necessary. Fortunately for them, they at

once listened to reason, and quietly dispersed. We subsequently ascertained that these were associations of villagers, armed for mutual defence, called *ee yung*, *i.e.* brave men (?), assembled and armed in a righteous cause.

In the evening, we paid the last honours to the remains of Major Beecher, burying him by the "light of the lantern dimly burning." Owing to the well-known hostility of the Chinese to our remains, we interred him in a very deep grave. I am, however, happy to add that we have instilled some feeling into the Chinese, for since our departure, the authorities directed that the tombs of our dead should be respected.

Five million of dollars having been already paid, and satisfactory security given to Captain Elliot for the payment of the remainder, arrangements were made with the authorities for our quitting the heights. Accordingly, on the 1st of June, the Prefect sent eight hundred

coolies to carry our baggage; and we marched away from the forts, and reached the transports in safety, leaving the city of Canton, for the time, a monument of British forbearance.

CHAPTER VIII.

Causes that led to the attack on Canton—Comparison of forces—Numerical amount of Chinese—Loss sustained by the British—Ransom of Canton.

In reviewing the different events that led to the attack on Canton, the first consideration seems to be, how decidedly impolitic it would have been to proceed north, leaving so numerous a hostile force in our rear at Canton, and the British residents totally defenceless at Macao. Hence the necessity of the disposal of this army, by fair means or force, was evident. Both systems were tried; —the result has been already detailed.

It is, however, a matter of doubt, whether it was the intention of the Chinese to attack the factories on the day they did, or whether the authorities, per-

ceiving by Captain Elliot's notice that he suspected treachery, resolved to make an immediate seizure of the British and murder them. The latter is the more probable supposition; and this is strengthened by the fact, that many of their batteries on the river were but partially completed; the guns and sand-bags had only been collected, but not placed in position; and numerous fire-ships were found only half filled with combustibles. It is, therefore, natural to suppose, that the Prefect issued his proclamation merely to dispel any suspicion which we might entertain, and to delay our departure, if possible, in order that, when all was finally prepared, they might be enabled to surprise and murder all the British.

It is also more than probable, that the Chinese never anticipated that we should land so high up the river, as we found but few batteries ready, while all their strong positions were taken up on the river, and in the town. The

point of debarkation was to have been a battery, all the guns being collected, and the sand-bags prepared to be placed in position, when our unexpected appearance and landing, prevented the enemy from carrying their intentions into effect.

When we compare the numbers of our army with that of the Chinese, it appears almost incredible, that with so small a force, we should have taken and maintained our position over so great an extent of lines, captured such well situated defences, and that too in the face of an enemy, at the lowest computation, ten times our number, and, according to another account, eighteen times as numerous as our little army, with so trifling a loss. Though numerically small, however, our loss was much felt, on account of the small number of our men.

While on the heights, and in the operations about Canton, we sustained the following loss in men and officers, killed and wounded :—

Officers killed.	*Officers Wounded.*
2.	15. one died subsequently of his wounds.

Men killed.	*Wounded.*
15.	112.

Making a total of 144. Besides these, four officers died afterwards of fever contracted on the service.

During the period we remained in possession of the heights, little sickness was experienced by the troops; but on their return to Hong Kong, fever, ague, and dysentery broke out to an alarming extent, carrying off many a gallant fellow.* Among others, was the distinguished Senior officer, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, a Trafalgar officer, and whose

* I believe at one time as many as 1,100 men were in hospital; and in the 37th Madras regt. out of 560 men, only fifty were fit for duty. Many men and officers were obliged to be invalided.

unwearied exertions in procuring boats for the conveyance the troops, can never be forgotten by those who witnessed them. He was buried at Macao, having died of fever brought on from unremitting exertion ;—a fate which, I lament to record, was shared by my friend, Lieutenant and Adjutant Wilson of the 18th, whose loss, not only to his friends, but also to his regiment, was great; his good and excellent qualities having endeared him to all, while his rapid and fatal illness of four days only, served to render his untimely fate the more melancholy.

The following are the numbers of the Chinese army, kindly communicated to me by my friend, Mr. Thom, one of the Chinese interpreters to the Legation; to whom, for his kindness in this respect, as well as in many others, I am much indebted.

Largest Estimate of Chinese Troops.

First division of the Exterminating Army, under Yihshan	30,000

Add the troops collected to attack and re-take Chusan, but countermanded, and ordered to proceed to Canton . .	12,000
Canton Tartar garrison, 4,000; Viceroy's troops, 4,000 . .	8,000
Foyuen's troops, 3,000; Tetuk's 3,000	6,000
	56,000

Smallest Estimate.

North country troops, under Yihshan's command, as stated by him to the Emperor .	17,000
Canton troops, as above . .	14,000
	31,000

Before quitting the subject of the heights, it may not be uninteresting to mention the sums paid by the Chinese authorities to the Plenipotentiary, in addition to the six millions of dollars ransom

for the town, as compensation to the merchants for injury done to their property in the pillage of the factories.

Ransom of Canton . . .	6,000,000*
Indemnity to British merchants and Government for property destroyed .	628,372
Indemnity to foreigners .	41,243
	6,669,615

or £1,419,663 7*s.* 6*d.*

It may be questioned whether this sum, paid as a ransom for the city, (and therefore entirely independent of the original claim on the government), can be appropriated as an indemnity for the opium given up to Lin. It should therefore be divided as prize-money, between the army and navy.

* Of this sum, 2,000,000 was raised or squeezed from the Hong merchants; Howqua alone, paying 820,000, or £184,555.

CHAPTER IX.

Description of Chinese arms—Account of the Chinese army—Names of Tartar Generals.

HAVING in the preceding chapters endeavoured, however inadequately, to give an account of the operations before Canton, it may not be considered irrelevant to the subject, to describe the weapons of war, together with the mode of warfare pursued by the Chinese, so far as it came under my observation.

With all the defects and imperfections they labour under, a strange mixture of civilization pervades their barbarous rules and customs, as well in civil as in military affairs. The army, in common with all the different departments of the state, is governed by a board of officers,

called the Board of War; the officers of the army are of both nations, but the ranks are principally composed of Chinese. There is however a large body of Tartar troops, from which nation, the Commander-in-Chief, or *Keang-Keun*, is invariably selected, having a Chinese General under him, as second in command, who usually commands his own countrymen serving in the army. This is done to counterbalance any partiality which might either evince towards his own nation. This of the two nations is carried into mixture even the highest councils of the empire.

The Imperial body-guard, divided into three brigades, and composed of 23,000 foot, and 3,000 cavalry, is entirely Tartar. This is more a sort of hunting army, as it rarely takes the field, but accompanies the Emperor on his hunting expeditions.

The numerical amount of the standing army has been variously estimated by different authors; all have, however, agreed in the various gradations of rank,

in some degree corresponding to our officers. These gradations descend, as far as we can discover, to a rank similar to that of lieutenants. Whether there are also non-commissioned officers corresponding to ours, is a point which I was unable to ascertain; probably the inferior grades of mandarins perform duties analogous to those of sergeants.

There is one feature of equality in this essentially conservative nation, that must strike the most casual observer; namely, that the highest honours are open to merit, in both civil and military services. Hence all officers rise from the ranks, and are in general promoted for their dexterity in the use of the bow, or for their skill in riding. Annual military examinations are held for the promotion of those officers who have passed the best examinations, while personal strength is a recommendation much prized in a commander. Influence and rank no doubt frequently enable the possessor to attain the higher grades quicker

than is possible to a person possessed of neither. Both officers and men are equally liable to corporal punishment, to which not unfrequently the superior officers have recourse.

The army at Canton was commanded by the Tartar General Yihshan, having under him one Tartar, and one Chinese General, performing duties analogous to those of Lieutenant Generals; besides these, there were other officers corresponding to Brigadiers. The names, styles, and titles, of these generals, were as follows:

1st. *Yihshan*, by Imperial appointment Great General, or Commander-in-chief, of the army collected to extirpate the Rebels.

2nd. *Lungween*, Assistant Great General, &c. A Mantchoo Tartar.

3rd. *Yang-fang*, Assistant Great General, with the Imperially bestowed title, "Truly brave noble." A Chinese of the Kwiechow province.

In fighting, or rather in following up their mode of warfare, all seem to share alike. We observed the Mandarins advance to the fight on horseback, but when the fray commenced they dismounted, and mingled with the ranks. This *may* have been with a laudable desire to stimulate the men, but from my estimate of Chinese character, I rather should suppose that the motive was that they would thus offer a less conspicuous mark on foot than on horseback. As yet, I imagine that no field exercise and evolutions, have been complied for the use of the Chinese army. Neither do the troops, as far as I observed, move in concert, nor do they make any formation in bodies; they are nevertheless divided into divisions, regiments, and companies, which latter consist of twenty-five privates; forty of these companies form a regiment. The men are not armed in a uniform manner, but a certain number carry match locks, others are armed with

spears and bows, while to each regiment is attached, or rather ought to be, a small body of cavalry. Besides the regular hopes of promotion held out equally to all, immediate promotion is given to all those who signalise themselves in action. Sometimes this is accompanied by a pecuniary reward; while in the event of the hero's death, his family are not unfrequently allowed to retain the pension, and his name is inscribed in the sacrificial books, for further promotion in the other world. At the age of sixty all soldiers are allowed to retire on a pension of half their pay. The pay of the soldiers of the two nations varies; thus the Tartar receives two taels *per mensem*, and an allowance of rice, while the Chinese receives but one and six-tenths taels and no rice. Not unfrequently their pay falls in arrear, in which case they proceed clamorously to their General, and demand payment; and in one case which occurred with the Tartar troops at the Bogue, the soldiers having exhausted the military chest, obliged the

General to pawn his clothes to satisfy their wants.

The army is divided into eight divisions, distinguished by the colour of their respective flag; the yellow or Imperial colour being the highest, next the white banner, red and blue banners; the other four standards are formed by one of these flags bordered with another colour. Each Tartar standard has 10,000 Tartar soldiers attached to it. The green flag is used by the Chinese soldiers only; all yellow flags have the Imperial yellow dragon worked in the centre. Forts generally have a large yellow flag, with the name of the fort written on it in large black letters.

The arms which the Chinese use in the north of the Empire in some degree differ from those used in the south. In the north there are I believe large bodies of Tartar cavalry, armed with bows and arrows, in the use of which they are very expert. At Chusan, cotton dresses for the body, lined

with pieces of iron plates were found, and also helmets of polished steel, very much resembling those worn in Europe during the middle ages. I was not informed whether the use of these was confined to the mandarins, or whether the soldiers were also provided with them. These are the only important distinctions of which I am aware between the military costume in the north and south, both with the above exception being nearly alike.

The weapons of the mandarins consist of a sword, similar to that used by the ancient Romans, with a short straight blade, the scabbard being ornamented according to the fancy of the bearer. This is invariably carried on the right side, in order to prevent that weapon from getting entangled with the slings of the quiver for arrows, which is fastened round the waist by a handsomely embroidered belt, and hangs on the left side. The quiver is made of leather appropriately ornamented, and has generally a species of

sabretache attached to it, in which the bow is placed; some of which I have seen with a hinge in the centre, to admit of being folded up into a smaller space. The arrows are of various lengths, some armed with a ball at the end perforated with holes, which in their progress through the air causes a whistling noise, and is supposed to strike terror into the hearer; the points are barbed, hooked, and broad-headed, while the butt is generally decorated with bright coloured feathers, those of the Tartar pheasant being most esteemed, and used by the mandarins only.

The arms of the soldiers are shields, matchlocks, spears, bows and arrows, and double swords. The only kind of armour is a round cap, made of rattan, painted with a huge pair of eyes, and well calculated to ward off the blow of a sword; sometimes the soldiers wear a cap similar to that of the mandarins without any button. The shields are of dif-

ferent sizes, made also of rattan, containing a ring inside sufficiently large to pass the arm through, and a little further in, a bar to lay hold of. They are generally painted with a devil's, or some such fascinating animal's face, intended to intimidate the beholder. These shields are not bullet-proof to a close shot, but no sword can either pierce, or cut through them.

The matchlock is as nearly as possible the old European weapon of the same name. It is not held in such estimation by the Chinese as the bow, from its danger to the bearer, in consequence of the liability of the match either to ignite his clothes or to blow up his powder-pouch, which is carried round the waist in a cotton or leather case, containing fourteen or sixteen wooden tubes, each holding a loose charge. This pouch is adorned with a representation intended to resemble a tiger's face, and from the careless manner in which the powder is carried, the pro-

bability of the wearer blowing himself up, extremely great.

Their spears are of all kinds, sizes and shapes, with which, in coming to close quarters, we found that they inflicted most horrid wounds; the favourite pattern of them is a long broad blade. They also use pikes, and a species of straight scythe with a handle very short in proportion to the length of the blade.

Their bows and arrows are alike, whether borne by mandarin or private, the only difference being in the material; the quiver of the soldier is lashed tight on his back, and for the convenience of carriage is generally square. The Tartar and Chinese troops use bows of different sizes and strength, the Tartars use a peculiar kind of cross-bow, throwing three arrows. The bow is made of elastic wood, covered with horn on the outside, and its strength varies from eighty pounds to one hundred weight; the string is made of silk and flax, strongly spun together, with three

joints to allow of its being put away in smaller space and to prevent it from cutting. In shooting the arrow, the string is held behind an agate or jade-stone ring, worn on the right thumb, the first joint of which is bent forward, and the string is confined, till the arrow is let fly by the middle joint of the fore finger.

The double-sword is a weapon of a very remarkable and singular construction. The blades are carried in the same sheath, and necessarily the inner side of both is quite flat, while the opposite one is triangular. A soldier with a sword in each hand advances to the front, goes through a variety of extraordinary gestures, all the while uttering strange cries, varied by terms of the greatest opprobrium he can lavish on the enemy. One or two of these military mountebanks having been picked off by our men, they did not latterly exhibit their accomplishments so often.

The uniform of the soldiers is very

much a matter of fancy; the jacket is generally made of a light blue cloth, turned up with red, or else a red jacket bordered with white; the tunic or under garment reaches down to the knees, and is generally blue. The name of the regiment to which the bearer belongs is written on the back and on the breast, with some terror-inspiring word, such as "Robust," "Tiger-hearted," &c. One particular corps has a tiger's face instead of the name, and the dress is striped, and made to resemble a tiger, as much as possible.

I will here venture to give a slight description of the dress worn by the civilian; which, however, in no very important respect differs from that of the military mandarin, both being alike gorgeous in material and decoration. The dresses are generally made of silk, richly embroidered, and are well adapted to the only use to which they are put, that of a dress for show, on state occa-

sions. The *grande toilette* of the peeresses of China, or the mandarins' ladies, is equally superb; the only drawback to their making a splendid appearance, (would that I could say as much for their personal beauty,) is the small feet with which they are deformed, or rather, as the Chinese imagine, adorned. Their mode of walking, owing to this fashion, is so ridiculous, that it will hardly bear description; nor would any of my fair readers be much edified by my attempting one. It would defy the talent of a Coulon to teach a Chinese lady a *pas seul*, while the crutch or thick baton, which they all use to assist them in walking, would so terrify the *maître de danse*, that I fear he would relinquish the task as hopeless.

To every body of troops a certain number of standard bearers are attached, whose duty it is to carry the colours, and wave them, but no feeling of honour seems to actuate the Chinese with regard to his

colours, for in the rout down go the colours, and *sauve qui peut* is the cry.

In military music the Chinese by no means excel. Their instruments consist of a pipe similar to a flageolet, on which they are unable to play any tune; they also use a trombone. But it is hardly fair to pass an opinion on their proficiency on these instruments, as the musicians had fled before we got possession of these trophies. And here I had nearly forgotten to make honourable mention of the terror-striking Gong, of which, according to regulation, there are a certain number in each camp. They appear to be used in compliance with the adage, of the more the merrier; for a more horrid noise I never heard, than these gongs when once set going. They seem to be used as the most noisy indication of Chinese feeling, both friendly and hostile; for in welcoming the arrival of a smuggling boat, all the gongs in the vicinity are beaten, and on the departure of the boat, a

similar ceremony is observed; they are also beaten in times of alarm, and on the appearance of an enemy.

In the science of engineering, the Chinese are very far behind the rest of the world; of this science indeed they seem to have but a partial knowledge, although frequently in the selection of positions for their defences, they exercised considerable judgment.

In artillery they are very backward, their guns being of enormous weight in proportion to their calibre; some of the pieces of ordnance which we captured weighing seven tons, although only 42 pounders; yet notwithstanding this immense thickness of metal, in many cases the guns burst. At Anunghoy, we found all the guns furnished with sights, and some of the heavy guns captured at Canton, had elevating screws; but I much doubt the gunners being sufficiently scientific, to use these aids properly. In their field batteries, a magazine is placed

in the rear of each gun, and is merely a deep hole in the earth, having another larger one close by, for the gunner to lay down in after firing. The carriages are also most clumsy, and owing to this, they are unable to train the piece to bear on any particular object, but fire it off point blank. Latterly however they used better guns, purchased from the Americans and Portuguese, the heavy guns at Canton being all of foreign manufacture. Their gunpowder, though by no means deficient in strength, nor in the proportion of its component parts, is coarse and bad. The following are the comparative ingredients of Chinese and English gunpowder:

	Nitre.	*Charcoal.*	*Sulphur.*
English....	75	15	10
Chinese....	75.7	14.4	9.9

They appear to have no idea of the nature of a shell, none having been found in their arsenals. Two brass howitzers

were taken, from which I suppose they would have thrown hollow shot, as great stores of shot of that description were found in Anunghoy for the large brass and iron guns, together with granite, marble and chain shot, which latter was used in all the guns. In defending the entrance to the forts, they used a species of hand grenade, made of clay, and filled with combustibles of a composition resembling the carcass shell, as it resists the influence of water. Another horrid grenade they used, was a vessel in the shape of a tea pot, filled with the most offensive materials. After lighting the match at the mouth of this, they throw it down, and thus break the pot; when the match igniting the contents, produces a perfume not the most pleasing to the olfactory nerves. Some of the artillerymen are armed with a stick furnished at one end with a sling for throwing a stone, which they project to a considerable distance, and with tolerable precision. Their

rockets are the merest child's weapon, being not above six inches long, fastened on a slender bamboo shaft, and armed with a barb inserted at one end. These are fired from a frame resembling the infernal machine, making a great noise, but doing no harm.

The fortifications of the Chinese are not, it may be expected, on the principles of Vauban, nor indeed could they learn much from those of the Portuguese at Macao, which in many respects they have most faithfully copied. The walls are of enormous thickness, and in general well laid down, but not strongly cemented together.

The defences of the river were of the most annoying description, the large rafts taking a long time, and causing much trouble to break them up; while the sunken junks and stones, not only impeded the navigation, but in some instances damaged the ships. To show with what care these junks had been laid

down, and what pains had been taken to conceal them, I may mention that, on my return from Canton in the Modeste, while passing by the Macao fort, owing to a sudden sweep of the tide, we were thrown on a junk, where we were obliged to remain twelve hours; fortunately, however, from the precautions taken, the ship sustained no damage. At the Bogue there were two large chain cables lashed to a raft, and moored across the navigable part of the river. These were built into a rock on one side, and similarly fastened on the other shore, while by means of a windlass at one extremity, they loosened the chain, so as to admit the egress of a ship, and again screwed it tight. This raft, as I have before mentioned, was carried away by a spring tide; had it however remained till our attack on the forts, it could not have resisted the impetus with which a line of battle ship would have swung up against it, but would (to use the words of the Captain of

an American ship, when speaking of it to Sir Gordon Bremer) " have snapped like a tobacco stopper."

With regard to their naval affairs, I feel incompetent to give any opinion, or to point out the defects of their marine. Such as it is, I believe it is divided into a river navy and a maritime: an Admiral can take command of land, as well as sea forces.

Some of the river craft are very elegantly built, the names however by which they are known, are of rather a strange signification; among these it will perhaps astonish not a few of my readers to hear of such names as " fast crabs," and " scrambling dragons;" for these latter, till my arrival in China, I had always entertained a due classical horror, which was however altogether dispelled during my stay in that country. The " fast crabs" and " scrambling dragons " are principally used by smugglers; they are a long narrow boat, from about thirty to

seventy feet in length, pulled by about fifty or sixty men, who use a very light kind of oar, with which they propel the boat with considerable velocity; these boats also sail remarkably fast. As their occupation leads to frequent encounters with the mandarins, the men are well armed with guns and shields, which latter are generally lashed along the bulwarks, and present a very formidable obstacle to boarding. Similar to these are the mandarin boats, which only differ in being generally painted with bright and gaudy colours, while the masts are decorated with numerous pendants and flags. Each smuggling boat carries a band of gong-beaters and tom-tomers, or drummers, with which they *chin-chin* each other on arrival, or departure. One of not the least singular appointments belonging to the boat is the little Joss house, with which each boat, as well as every private house in China, is furnished. To this Joss they burn incense, and pay great attention,

frequently firing off numerous crackers in honour of the God. Should a storm however arise, and Joss pay no immediate attention to their prayers, by allaying the war of elements, he gets violently abused, while they patiently await their fate. I am not aware whether there is a god, the patron of "*Smug pigeon*," *anglicè* smuggling, or not.

Prior to the capitulation of Canton, Captain Herbert captured the boat belonging to the illustrious Tartar General Yang-fang, which was most elegantly fitted up. Such had been the precipitate flight of the General, that his toilette table with its paraphernalia fell into the hands of the captors: many of the articles in his dressing-case, showed that the Chinese exquisite pays as great attention to the toilette, as a dandy of the most civilized and polished western nation.

It is to be regretted that the Chinese squadron cruized off Amoy harbour for three days, hoping to meet the barbarian

ships; but were not able to find them. On this they returned to harbour, and two days afterwards Amoy was captured!*

* This will serve to show that the Chinese are already beginning to perceive their defects, and have attempted to profit from the models of our ships; as in the great arsenal at Amoy, a large two-decked junk was found nearly ready for sea, with guns, as well as something bearing a resemblance to gun-carriages.

CHAPTER X.

Account of Hong-Kong and Macao—Conduct of Portuguese authorities, relative to the tender of the Flag-ship—Battle of the Barrier.

HAVING described the military and naval operations in the Canton River, from the end of November 1840 to the 1st June 1841, it may not be uninteresting to give a short account of Hong Kong and Macao. This I am induced to do from the consideration, that the former is the first British settlement in China, and that the latter is the only possession, if indeed such it can be termed, in the hands of any nation as yet tolerated by the Chinese.

I may observe, that although Hong

Kong is really under British rule, the Chinese authorities disallow our right of tenure; for it must be borne in mind that the failure of Keshen to ratify the cession of the Island, was the principal and immediate cause that led to the resumption of hostilities, on the 26th of February. He did not, nor could he, with any shadow of justice, object to the payment of six million of dollars, *in six annual instalments;* nor, were the other articles of the treaty of such vital importance as to have broken off negociations; but he dared not so far "spoil the Emperor's face," as to dismember part of the "flowery land," and bestow it on "barbarians:"—*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.**

The Island of Hong Kong is situated about thirty-seven miles to the eastward

* The Chinese wishing to say that a person has brought discredit on another, use the term of spoiling their face; but it must be added, with a totally different meaning from the pugilistic acceptation of the term.

of Macao, nearly at the entrance of the Canton river. It is about eight miles long, and five and a half broad, and contains about 7,500 inhabitants, chiefly employed in fishing, living for the most part in small villages, scattered along its shores. The inhabitants, from our knowledge of their character, appear to be industrious and obliging, and have as yet shown no symptoms of that cruelty, which forms so degrading a trait in the Chinese character. Under the native government, they were ruled by a head mandarin, having some soldiers to support his authority; but from all accounts, they seem in general to have been very peaceably disposed; nor did they exhibit any marked approbation or disapprobation, on their transfer to the British sway.

The spot determined on as the site of the future town, is on the south side of the bay or harbour of Hong Kong, from which place the whole island takes

its name, and which is on the north side of the island. This is a very fine and spacious harbour, and is considered by competent judges to afford good anchorage in all weather. The entrance from the east is very narrow, but within, the bay gradually expands, decreasing in a similar manner towards the end nearest Cowloon, an extensive peninsula on the mainland, which when the island was ceded to us, was to be considered as neutral ground. On the resumption of hostilities, this was taken possession of by right of conquest. On this peninsula, the Chinese had erected two large forts, which in accordance with an article of the treaty, were dismantled by them; Keshen at the same time, requesting permission to be allowed to remove the guns by water, as they could not be moved by land, owing to the hilly nature of the surrounding country. This we knew to be false, as only two years previously,

these guns had been placed in the forts by land carriage. The request was, however, complied with; but acting up to "his scrupulous good faith," Keshen placed them in the first bar battery, where they were afterwards captured. This transaction was carried on in the midst of negociations. On the return of the expedition from the heights of Canton, one of the forts was blown up, and the other converted into a military and naval arsenal; while the adjoining land was used as a cricket-ground by the officers and men.

The general aspect of the island is mountainous and barren; there are, however, some cultivated spots in the interior, situated in most beautiful and romantic valleys. Still I question whether the island could raise sufficient grain for the consumption of its inhabitants. During an excursion into the interior, we halted a short time to rest; and while

here, the elder of the village at which we were, came out, and invited us to sit down in his house—an invitation I accepted with pleasure. After being seated a minute or two the old gentleman produced an opium pipe, with all the paraphernalia belonging to it, and after preparing every thing, offered it to me; not being inclined to partake of it, I declined the proffered civility; at which, the old gentleman smoked the pipe himself. This is but one instance out of many I know, of the partiality of the Chinese for the drug. The well known venality of the mandarins is such, that it will not surprise my readers when I say, that I *never* yet entered a mandarin's house without finding quantities of opium. This will serve to show the error some have fallen into, in supposing that the practice is not universal, and that it is not connived at by government officers. In fact, to talk of the Chinese government putting down opium smoking, or even

wishing to do so, is about as absurd as to attempt to stop beer drinking in the United Kingdom. With the exception of its convenient vicinity to Canton, and as being, in that respect, well adapted for trade, the only remaining points to recommend Hong Kong as a settlement, seem to be the noble harbour, and extensive quarries of granite with which the island abounds, so that in the event of a town being built, the stone would be close at hand.

As I have already mentioned, the site fixed on for the town, is on the north side of the island. This is, however, liable to many objections; the principal being the situation, which offers no tract of level ground sufficiently large to contain a town of any extent; and in the event of the town being placed here, the streets and buildings at the back would be inconveniently situated on the slope of a hill. The Peninsula of Cowloon offers a far more preferable and

eligible site, and there the town would be exposed to the refreshing influence of both monsoons.

On taking possession of the island, Captain Elliot issued a circular, addressed to the British subjects in China, inserted in the Appendix G, and made the necessary arrangements for the occupation of the island, which was taken formal possession of with the usual ceremonies, by Sir Gordon Bremer. Captain Elliot, as a temporary measure, appointed himself governor, at the same time nominating magistrates and harbour-masters, with all the necessary subordinate officers to carry on the government.

Many Chinese, who had previously supplied the ships with provisions, followed the squadron hither, and took up their residence on the island, where a large bazaar was allotted them. These new subjects of the Crown did not, it must be acknowledged, evince characteristics

sufficiently respectable to prepossess us in their favour, being, in general, Chinese of the lowest class; no native merchants nor persons of respectability venturing to incur the displeasure of the mandarins and their kindred, by taking up their residence on the Barbarian settlement. Nevertheless numerous artificers and workmen of every description, attracted by the custom of officers of both services, found ample wages a sufficient inducement to reside here. The very uncertain tenure we have always professed to hold over the island, Captain Elliot having publicly intimated that it was merely held "pending H.M's pleasure," has no doubt contributed to create this distrust on the part of the Chinese, and prevented many from availing themselves of our protection. This observation also applies to the British merchants, none of whom have as yet gone to reside there; the only residents being the members of government, and one or two

American agents. It is a question of great importance whether the permanent occupation of this island would be advantageous to us or not. There can be no doubt, but that the knowledge we have of Canton, and the circumstance of our trade having been as yet confined to that port, has rendered us in some degree familiar with the Chinese. Here also, our manners and customs are known, and our rectitude of conduct is appreciated and respected; but the incomparable advantages to be derived from free ports, and free trade to the north, would soon eclipse those of Hong Kong. Latterly however, extensive improvements were in progress; a road had been commenced, a gaol built, a government gazette published, and the beneficial influence of our government was daily becoming more evident, while the inhabitants seemed fully alive to the benefits of our rule. A very striking evidence of

this was afforded by the population of an entire district presenting a petition that barracks might be erected to protect their property, a request that was immediately complied with. It is, therefore, to be expected, should this island be retained, that many Chinese of wealth and respectability will eagerly embrace the opportunity of taking shelter under our protection from the grasping eagerness of their rulers, and that the inhabitants of this island, will, at no distant period, be enrolled among the peaceable and loyal subjects of our Gracious Queen.

The Portuguese settlement of Macao is situated on the peninsula of the same name, near the entrance to the Canton river; and, in common with the surrounding country, is very hilly and barren. The length, from one extreme to the other, is about five miles; the breadth, about one. The territory may be said as yet to be but partially inhabited, the only

buildings being those of the town, without the walls of which there is a Chinese suburb.

The manner in which the Portuguese obtained possession of this colony, is involved in obscurity; some authors contending, with a laudable patriotism, that the site of the town was granted as a reward for services rendered to the Chinese government; while others maintain, probably with more truth, that it was obtained by bribery and corruption. About the year 1516, the Portuguese first appeared at Canton, and commenced trading with the Chinese in an amicable manner; but after the lapse of a few years, dissensions arose, which led to some naval engagements, in which the Portuguese were repeatedly beaten, and obliged to seek safety in flight. Being resolved, however, to follow up the important trade with China, they again returned, in a more submissive manner; and in the year 1737 were allowed to

erect a few sheds for the protection of merchandise on the peninsula they now occupy. By degrees, owing to the venality of the mandarins, a town sprung up, which has gradually increased to its present size; not, however, without yielding the Chinese a golden harvest, in the shape of an annual rent of 500 taels, in addition to which the mandarins levy a duty on Portuguese shipping. At first, the trade was very important, but owing to their national supineness, together with the decay of national power, they have lost all the influence they formerly possessed; and as well here as in the remains of their once splendid eastern empire, they are but as a nation that has been. The silent, and I might add, unresenting manner, moreover, in which they have suffered themselves to be dictated to by the Chinese government, has tended to lower them in the estimation of the natives, and also in that of the world.

It is not the least singular feature in

the nature of their tenure of this place, that the Chinese code of laws is enforced; a native magistrate presides over the local native court, subject to the surveillance of the judge at Canton; while, at the same time, Portuguese laws affect only natives of Portugal, or foreign residents; nor can they punish a Chinese offender, without first obtaining the consent of his own government. To such an extent indeed is the Chinese power carried, that a house cannot be pulled down, nor any public improvement made, without the previous consent of the Chinese. One of the most arbitrary orders in force, is the refusal to permit the flag of a foreign nation to proceed up the inner harbour, without previously obtaining the consent of the Portuguese authorities; who, in turn, are obliged to procure it from the Chinese. This ceremony was insisted on by the officer in charge of the fort commanding the entrance to that harbour,

when the Hebe, tender to the flag-ship, attempted to pass, in order to escape from an approaching typhoon. The Portuguese officer threatened to fire, should the tender attempt the passage. The officer, in reply, said that the compliment should be returned. Eventually, the important question, whether a 32-gun battery was to dare to fire on a small schooner of 50 tons, was decided, by the Commodore remonstrating with the Governor, on the impropriety of so unfriendly an act towards an ally, and the Hebe was allowed to proceed. The parade of troops and guns on this alarming occasion, was truly ridiculous; while the ponderous deliberations of the senate deprived the members of that august body of their wonted slumbers, as morning surprised them while still debating on this alarming question.

The crown of Portugal is represented by a Governor, having under him, a Senate, Judges, and other inferior officers.

The garrison consists of about 300 troops, many of whom are natives of the place; a portion of the force is however sent from Lisbon, but how long their tour of foreign service lasts, I am unable to state. There is also a small body of artillery; but in neither service are there sufficient men to defend the citadel.

When viewed from the sea, Macao presents rather a pleasing appearance, being situated on the slope of a hill, the summit of which is crowned with handsome buildings; while the houses, being generally well built of fine white stone, present to a stranger the unexpected appearance of an European town in the Celestial Empire. The buildings stand within a few yards of the sea, and extend along the shores of the bay, which is of a circular form, and is bounded by a handsome promenade, called the Praya Granda; this alone in the whole place is worthy of the name of a street; for, from the situation of the town, the streets are

all up and down hill, and from the want of a lighting and paving act, a walk is anything but agreeable. These *disagrémens* are in some degree forgotten while viewing the endless variety of objects presented for sale by the Chinese, many of whom have congregated here since our departure from Canton. All the principal houses are tenanted by British merchants, either as residences, or offices for transacting business. Never was the adage of "it's an ill wind that blows nobody good," more truly verified than in our misfortunes in China; our continued residence here has indeed been a god-send to the previously impoverished owners of these houses.

The town is defended by five forts, placed, with two exceptions, on the most commanding heights; while in addition to their being naturally in strong positions, from being the work of European engineers, they are built in a scientific manner. There are, however, positions

which could be taken up by an enemy, on which no gun in the forts could be brought to bear. There are some very fine pieces of brass ordnance on the walls of the citadel, which, as well as the other forts, is annually inspected by the Chinese mandarins.

The population amounts to 35,000 souls, of whom 5,000 are Portuguese; the remainder, Chinese and foreigners. There are thirteen churches, with the proportionate establishment of priests; and in addition to this, what was formerly a nunnery, for *those charmers of creation, Chinese small-footed ladies.*

The chief lion of Macao, is the large Joss-house, which is situated in a very romantic spot, on the shores of the back bay, or inner harbour. It is a very handsome building, and is ornamented in that peculiar and grotesque style, which seems curious to the Chinese places of worship. Should the traveller be anxious to visit the remaining lions,

he will here hire a *Tanka boat*, and while proceeding up the harbour, will have time to examine the conveyance, as well as be charmed with the ladies who *man* it. This boat derives its name from the Chinese word signifying an egg, in the shape of which it is built; the sides are defended by high bulwarks, the roof is of bamboo, and circular, forming a protection from either sun or rain, sliding back or forward at pleasure. The boat is neatly decked over, and kept very clean; as for the most part, many of the owners have no other habitation. It is rowed by two young ladies, or more, as the case may be; one of whom, sitting at the bow; pulls with a short paddle, while her *vis-à-vis* at the stern, with a long oar, sculls and steers the boat.

It is extraordinary to see the skilful manner in which these damsels guide their frail bark. The passenger is provided with a seat, and as these young ladies are proficients in Canton English, a very

facetious and lively style of conversation ensues, interspersed sometimes, I regret to say, with elegant extracts from the Billingsgate vocabulary. The dress of these women resembles that of the men, with the exception of a coloured handkerchief, which is thrown over the head, and fastened under the chin. The distinguishing mark of an unmarried woman is the long tail of plaited hair, while the matron gathers her locks up, and adorns them with sundry ornaments. I regret to be obliged to 'add, that the standard of morality among these young ladies is not very strict.

After a pleasant voyage, the passenger arrives at his destination, and proceeds to visit Camoens' Cave, which is situated in the centre of very extensive pleasure-grounds, which, through the kindness of the proprietor, are always open to the stranger. The cave is the most unromantic poet's dwelling I ever saw, and is only interesting as being the place in

which Camoens composed the "Lusiad." As is customary, the walls are covered with the names of visitors, while in the centre stands a pedestal crowned by a bust of the bard, adorned with an inscription commemorative of his genius, in golden letters; but the poetry of the place, if I may use such an expression, is destroyed, by the rough places being made smooth, by common white plaster. The grounds through which the visitor is allowed to walk, are very beautiful; and, from a small temple on a rising ground, a fine view is obtained of the surrounding country.

I have before mentioned, that the town is built on an extremity of a peninsula. The narrow neck of land connecting the territory of Macao with the mainland, is divided in the middle by a high wall, called the Barrier. This would not deserve mention, were it not remarkable as the first land action between the Chinese and British; and in which (in August,

1840) our troops and marines, commanded by Captain Smith, C.B., of H.M.S. Druid, put to flight a large body of Chinese, who had assembled there with hostile intentions towards the British residents at Macao; in this, however, by the determination of Captain Smith, and the gallantry of the men under his command, the Chinese were frustrated.

The climate of Macao is very healthy; and during the heat of summer, which is sometimes very intense, a pleasant sea-breeze prevails during the evening, which is very refreshing after the heat of the day. In winter the cold is sometimes very severe, particularly in the morning and at night; while, during the day, the sun produces a genial warmth.

CHAPTER XI.

Typhoon—Escape of Sir Gordon Bremer and Captain Elliot—Damage done to men-of-war and merchant-ships—Arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger and Rear-Admiral Sir William Parker—Departure of Sir Gordon Bremer and Captain Elliot—Squadron sails for the north—Fall of Amoy.

THE squadron, as I have before mentioned, was now lying at Hong Kong; and in consequence of the great sickness prevailing throughout both services, the intended departure of the expedition for the north, was unavoidably postponed. On the 18th June, Sir Gordon Bremer returned from Calcutta, bringing the welcome news that more troops and steamers, together with *matériel* were under orders to join the force. During his

absence, His Excellency had received a mark of royal approbation, having been nominated a Plenipotentiary. The overland mail being daily expected, by which Sir Gordon Bremer hoped to receive instructions, and at the same time, intelligence as to the movements of Sir William Parker, the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief, it was determined to wait the arrival of the mail; and thereby afford the troops a greater chance of recovering their health, and giving the expected reinforcements sufficient length of time to arrive. By this means, the expedition would be enabled to proceed north with recruited energy, and be better able to endure the fatigues and hardships that awaited them.

While affairs were in this condition, a chop was received from Pekin, in consequence of the representations of Yih-shan, announcing the Imperial will that trade should again go on as usual, in consequence of the submission of the

English rebels. The mercantile community had however, witnessed so many repeated instances of Chinese bad faith, that a few only proceeded to Canton; constant communication was however kept up between the local authorities and the Plenipotentiaries. On one occasion Captain Elliot was subjected to considerable inconvenience and danger; for during the lapse of time between his passing a point on the river, and his return thither, the Chinese had been actively employed in blocking up the channel; fortunately however he returned before the completion of their treacherous design. This I merely mention, as an additional instance of Chinese "good faith."

During this temporary suspension of hostilities, the squadron was visited by a typhoon, a scourge more destructive and irresistible than any mortal power, which did great damage to the merchant vessels assembled in Hong Kong harbour.

For some days previous, the weather-wise Chinese had predicted an approaching storm, in consequence of which, many vessels took the precautions usual in such cases, to avoid its well-known and dreaded violence. The morning of the preceding day was beautiful and calm, exhibiting to those ignorant of such matters, no visible symptoms of the coming danger; but during the afternoon a heavy swell set in, without any visible cause, there being no wind at the time. During the night thunder and lightning, and rain with squalls, were very severe; towards midnight the storm increased, and at noon next day, the tempest raged in all its fury. The loss of life and property was very great, while the sea, beating with terrific violence against the parapets of the Praya Granda, washed away large masses of granite, which it had required the united strength of many men to place there. The effect of the saline particles carried about by

the violence of the wind, was most destructive to vegetation, and caused a dismal appearance in the trees, stripping the branches of their foliage, as if struck with a severe blight.

After blowing about eight hours in this terrific manner, the storm gradually subsided, leaving however the melancholy proofs of its rage strewed around the harbour. No theory has yet accounted for these dreadful storms in a satisfactory manner: they are I believe, peculiar to the China seas, and providentially prevail at certain seasons only, and within certain latitudes.* The terrific violence of the storm can only be properly estimated by those who have witnessed a typhoon. During the after-

* During this typhoon the barometer and sempisometer on board H.M.S. Herald fell respectively to 28.85, and 28.80; on shore the barometer fell to 28.92, and the thermometer showed a temperature of 80°. During the second typhoon at Hong Kong the barometer in H.M.S. Modeste fell to 28.50.

noon of the day previous to the typhoon, the Hebe, tender to the flag-ship, and the cutter Louisa, sailed for Hong Kong; the former, which was conveying officers to their ships, encountered the full violence of the storm, and was saved, with loss of her masts, only by the skill of Mr. Temple, the officer in command. At the same time, the Louisa, conveying the Plenipotentiaries, attended by the Flag-Lieutenant and Naval Secretary, after weathering the gale for some hours, was wrecked on an Island. A favourable spot for running her ashore was however chosen, by the skill and intrepidity of Captain Elliot; and thus with the loss of one man only, the whole were saved. I cannot convey a better idea of the dreadful violence of this storm, and of the almost miraculous escape of those on board, than in the words of my friend Mr. Morgan the Naval Secretary, which I have placed in Appendix H. Nor was the loss confined to the men-of-war only:

several transports were dismasted, and some merchant ships, with very valuable cargoes on board, entirely lost.

On the 10th of August, the H.C.S. Sesostris arrived at Macao, having on board Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., C.B., and Sir William Parker, K.C.B., Naval Commander-in-chief. Sir Henry, in addition to being Minister Extraordinary, was also Chief Superintendent of Trade, and in virtue of his office, superseded Captain Elliot in all his appointments. Captain Elliot determined to proceed to England, as did also the Commodore in consequence of bad health; having therefore resigned the command into the hands of Sir W. Parker, he proceeded to Bombay with Captain Elliot in the H.C.S. Atalanta, intending to go home by the overland route. The celerity of the journey of the new Plenipotentiary is worthy of remark. Sir Henry left London on the 5th of June, reached Bombay on the 7th of July, which he left on the

17th, and arrived at Macao on the 10th of August; thus including stoppages, being only sixty-seven days from London to China!

Soon after his arrival, Sir Henry Pottinger had several conferences with the Commanders-in-chief, the result of which was a determination to proceed north at once. This they were enabled to carry into effect, as the health of the forces had improved, and fresh reinforcements had already arrived, while additional ones were daily expected. A sufficient military and naval force was to be left at Hong Kong to keep the Chinese in awe, and also to prevent their making any preparations for hostilities.

Before the departure of Sir Henry Pottinger, the Quan-chow-foo (Prefect), arrived from Canton to solicit an interview. This was however refused, on the ground that he was not a sufficiently exalted functionary to entitle him to such an honour, and that he was not empowered to

negociate. This judicious determination of Sir Henry to uphold his dignity, must have produced no very pleasing sensation in the mind of the perfidious prefect.

All the necessary preparations having been completed, the squadron sailed for the north on the 21st of August, 1841, more than a year subsequent to the first arrival of the expedition on the coast of China. As may be conceived, considerable anxiety was manifested relative to the result of our operations; but all conjecture was dispelled by the arrival of a ship conveying the welcome news that Amoy had fallen on the 26th; an event which I cannot better commemorate than in the words of the Plenipotentiary, in his circular addressed to the British Merchants.

"Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c., has the highest satisfaction in announcing to H.M. subjects, and others who feel an interest in the question, that the city of Amoy, with its very extensive and

formidable line of batteries and war junks (the whole mounting upwards to five hundred pieces of cannon) was taken possession of on the 26th instant, after a short but animated defence on the part of the Chinese, by H.M. naval and land forces under the command of their Excellencies, Rear Admiral Sir W. Parker, K.C.B., and Major General Sir H. Gough, K.C.B.

"This brilliant achievement has been happily accomplished with a very trifling loss, and in addition to the works, all of which have been dismantled and destroyed, and the guns spiked and broken, immense magazines full of ammunition of war have been either removed or rendered useless.

"Arrangements are now in progress for leaving a detachment of troops on the small island of Koolangsoo, (which is separated from the town of Amoy by a channel of deep water) and some of H.M. ships will likewise remain at this port,

while the great body of the expedition advances to the northward, so that British or other ships that may touch here, during the ensuing season, will find ample protection and be secure from any risk of molestation.

" H.M. Plenipotentiary deems it quite superfluous to say one word as to the manner in which this important service has been performed ; the facts require no eulogium. The Chinese Government vainly imagined they had rendered Amoy impregnable, but were undeceived, in the presence of the Viceroy of the provinces of Che-Keang and Fokein, (who with a number of high officers witnessed the attack from the heights above the town), in the short space of four hours from the firing of the first gun, and had the opposition been a hundred times greater than it was, the spirit and bearing of all employed, shewed that the result must have been the same."

I have thus brought to a close the

Second Campaign in China. A new scene and new theatre for action is now open to the expedition, let us therefore in conclusion, hope that the operations carried on may lead to a certain and honourable adjustment of the many difficulties with which we have to contend; but that at the same time, so severe and salutary a lesson will be taught the Chinese, as effectually to prevent a recurrence of their formerly oft repeated and too long unpunished atrocities.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

TABLE No. I.

Shewing the number of guns captured at Chuenpee, Ty-cock-tow, and the men-of-war junks, in Anson's Bay, January 7th, 1841.

WHERE CAPTURED.	NUMBER.	CALIBRE AND REMARKS.
Chuenpee and its dependencies . .	82	The guns were nearly the same size as the British 18 and 12-prs.; those in the entrenchments were 6-prs. In the junks there were several very handsome brass Portuguese guns, 12 and 9-prs. Altogether eight brass guns taken.
Howitzers, 8½ in.	2	
Ty-cock-Tow . .	25	
In the junks . . .	82	
Grand total . .	191	

TABLE No. II.

Showing the ordnance mounted in the Anunghoy forts when captured, February 26th, 1841.

SOUTH ANUNGHOY FORT.

GUNS, BRASS.			REMARKS.
No.	Calibre.	Length.	
2	10-75	11-3	Portuguese, dated 1627.
2	8-75	10-2	

GUNS, IRON.		
No.	Calibre.	
1	68-pr.	A number of guns were of very great thickness of metal and great weight, one weighing 7 tons. They were all of Chinese manufacture, with the exception of three English and one Portuguese.
1	42 ,,	
14	32 ,,	
17	24 ,,	
11	18 ,,	
22	12 ,,	
27	9 ,,	
4	6 ,,	
6	4 ,,	

103 Total.

NORTH ANUNGHOY FORT.

No.	Calibre.	
8	42-prs.	All of Chinese manufacture, but of enormous weight and thickness of metal.
5	32 ,,	
3	24 ,,	
2	18 ,,	
4	12 ,,	
18	9 ,,	

40 Total.

SAND-BAG BATTERY AT EAST END OF SOUTH ANUNGHOY.

GUNS, IRON.		REMARKS.
No.	Calibre.	
4	9 ,,	All Chinese manufacture.
4	6 ,,	
7	4 ,,	

15 Total.

SAND-BAG BATTERY N.E. OF SOUTH ANUNHOY FORT.

No.	Calibre.	
1	12-pr.	All of Chinese manufacture, except one Spanish and one English.
6	9 ,,	
1	6 ,,	
2	3 ,,	
3	4 ,,	
2	less than 3-prs.	

15 Total.

RETURN OF ORDNANCE IN NORTH WANGTONG.

No.	Calibre.	
1	68-pr.	Twelve of them were very large, with great thickness of metal, with an inscription commemorative of Lord Napier's death on the chase.
1	42 ,,	
18	from 24 to 32-prs. (including both).	
11	from 18 to 24-pr.	
16	12 to 18 ,,	
24	9 to 12 ,,	
35	6 to 9 ,,	
52	3 to 6 ,,	
6	less than 3-prs.	
3	destroyed by shot.	

167 Total.

WESTERN FORT.

Number.	Calibre.
40	18 to 32.

Boats of light squadron, under Captain Herbert, at the back of Anunghoy Island, in stockades and mud-forts.

NUMBER.	CALIBRE.	REMARKS.
80	various; several 68-prs.	Many very large and heavy guns. All, with the exception of two English, were of Chinese manufacture.

GENERAL ABSTRACT.

North Anunghoy Fort . . .	40
South Anunghoy Fort . . .	102
Sand-bag battery, E. side of ditto	15
,, ,, N.E. ,,	15
Wangtong Island	167
Western forts	40
Back of Anunghoy Island . . .	80
	459 Grand total.

TABLE No. III.

Showing the ordnance captured in the following places.

WHERE CAPTURED.	No.	CALIBRE AND REMARKS.
First Bar battery .	44	Various calibre, one 68-pr.
Masked battery . .	34	From 9 to 18-prs.
Howqua's Folly . .	30	From 18 to 24-prs.
Napier's Fort . . .	35	One 32-pr.; others 24 to 9-prs. One gun burst in firing.
Macao Fort	38	From 2 to 18-prs.
Broadway	115	Various calibre.
Canton	123	Various calibre, many English.
Four forts on the heights of Canton	42	Various calibre; great quantities of ammunition taken, and several wall pieces destroyed.
Total	461	

TABLE No. IV.

Guns destroyed in the batteries around Canton when the city was taken, May 25th, 1841.

NUMBER.	CALIBRE.	REMARKS.
About 100.	various calibre; one battery mounted 10 68-pr. guns.	Many of foreign manufacture.

Recapitulation showing number of guns taken from 1st January, to 1st June, 1841.

Table No. i. . . .	191
Table No. ii. . . .	459
Table No. iii. . . .	461
Table No. iv. . . .	100
	1,211 guns.

APPENDIX B.—Page 73.

Proclamation issued by Captain Elliot to the Inhabitants of Canton.

People of Canton,

Your city is spared, because the Gracious Sovereign of Great Britain has commanded the high English officers to remember, that the good and peaceful people must be tenderly considered. But if the high officers of the Celestial Court offer the least obstruction to the British forces in their present stations, then it will become necessary to answer force by force, and the city may suffer terrible injury. And if the merchants be prevented from buying and selling freely with the British and foreign merchants, then the whole trade of Canton must immediately be stopped. The high officers of the English nation, have faithfully used their best efforts to prevent the miseries of war: and the responsibility of the actual state of things must rest upon the heads of the bad advisers of the Emperor. Further evil conse-

quences can only be prevented by wisdom and moderation on the part of the provincial government.

March 6th, 1841.

APPENDIX C.—PAGE 80.

Proclamation by the Lieutenant Governor of Canton offering rewards for the capture of Her Majesty's Ships and the heads of Englishmen, &c.

I, Lieutenant Governor, issue the following scale of rewards:—

1. If the native traitors can repent of their crimes and quit the service of the foreigners, (English,) come before the magistrates and confess, their offences will be forgiven; and those who are able to seize alive the rebellious foreigners, and bring them before a magistrate, as well as those who offer up the foreigner's heads, will be severally rewarded according to the following scale.

2. The capture of one of their line of battle ships, the ship and guns will be confiscated,

but all that the ship contains, as clothes, goods, and money, with an additional reward of 100,000 dollars will be given to the captors. Those who burn, or break to pieces, or bore holes through a line of battle ship's bottom, so that she sinks, upon the facts being substantial, shall be rewarded with 30,000 dollars; for ships of the second and third class, the rewards will be proportionately decreased.

3. The capture of one of the large steamers shall be rewarded with 50,000 dollars, for the smaller one half.

4. 50,000 dollars shall be given to those who seize either Elliot, Morrison, or Bremer, alive; and those who bring their heads, on the facts being ascertained, shall get 30,000 dollars.

5. 10,000 dollars shall be given to those who seize an officer alive, and 5000 for each officer's head.

6. 500 dollars shall be given for every Englishman seized alive; if any are killed, and their heads brought in, 300 dollars will be given.

7. 100 dollars will be given for every sepoy and lascar taken alive, and 50 for every head.

8. Those among you, who, in their efforts to seize the English rebels may lose their lives, on examination and proof of the facts, a re-

ward of 300 dollars shall be given to your families. The foreigners of every other country are faithful and obedient, and do not like the English, cause commotions, it is not permitted to seize and annoy them; thus will the good and virtuous remain in tranquillity.

2nd Moon, 7th Day, (Feb. 27.)

APPENDIX D.—Page 83.

Notice issued by Captain Elliot to Merchants relative to re-opening of trade.

A satisfactory communication has this day been received from H.E. Commissioner Yang, declaratory of the faithful intentions of his newly arrived colleagues, concerning the arrangement concluded between H.E. and the undersigned.

The Kwangchowfoo having also issued a proclamation by desire of their Excellencies, intended to reassure the trading people, the Plenipotentiary has, for a like reason (with the concurrence of the Government), made public the accompanying notice under his seal.

A NOTICE.—BRITISH FACTORY.

April 16, 1841.

Elliot, &c., &c., hearing that the quiet and industrious people of Canton are disturbed by constant rumours of warlike preparations against the town and province, on the side of the British forces, clearly declares to all the people that these reports are false and mischievous.

The Commissioner Yang, and the high officers of the Province, acting with good faith and wisdom, have now opened the trade; and whilst their Excellencies are fulfilling their sealed covenants with Elliot, there will not be the least disturbance of the peace of Canton by the British forces.

The high officers of the English nation have clearly and manifestly proved that they cherish the people of Canton; and if misfortunes befall the city and the whole trade of the province, assuredly the evil will not justly be attributable to them.

APPENDIX E.—PAGE 83.

Letter written by Lieutenant Crawford, R.N., Agent for Transports, to the Editor of the Canton Press, relative to the murder of Captain Stead by the Chinese.

Macao, July 2nd, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

Permit me to offer you a brief detail of the circumstances relating to the lamented loss of Captain Stead, the late master of the Prestonjee Bomanjee, Government Transport, under my charge.

The Prestonjee having supplies for the Eastern expedition, reached the Chusan Islands from England in the middle of March last, in pursuance of Admiralty orders, and under the supposition that these islands were in the hands of the English.

Anchoring off Buffaloe's Nose, some fruitless attempts were made to gain information from the Chinese, but unfortunately we could not make ourselves understood; indeed the Chinese evinced a desire to avoid us.

The transport next anchored near Kittoe Point, off a town or village called Sing-Losan—

and the next day proceeded as far as the Elephant and Trunk, on her way to the capital, Tinghae: failing however, to gain a proper anchorage, we were compelled to return, and come-to again off Sing-Losan, Kittoe Point. In order to ascertain the posture of affairs, the late Master, Captain Stead, accompanied me in a six-oared boat to Tinghae, in hopes of hearing something of the fleet; however, on approaching the landing-place off the suburb, the junks beat their gongs in a furious nanner, and the vast numbers of people along the shore precluded the possibility of landing, as at first intended, in hopes of gaining an interview with the authorities. We therefore returned to the ship, traversing the inner and outer harbours, going back a different route, to fully satisfy ourselves as to the probability of any English vessel being anchored in the vicinity.

The ship was under the necessity of completing her water before proceeding to Macao, the weather was very unsettled, and in rafting off the casks the raft frequently broke adrift, and several casks were lost. Captain Stead, who constantly attended, and was most indefatigable in the duty, was on one occasion driven to seaward, and remaining by the raft

did not reach the ship until twelve o'clock at night.

Having completed our water, on the morning of the 20th of March, I accompanied the Master on shore to see all the water-casks off. We also took our guns, with a view of getting some wild duck (with which the place abounded), in the vicinity of the watering-place.

The Captain left me immediately on landing (accompanied by one of the ordinary seamen, J. Connor), with the intention of procuring some vegetables for the crew, then much afflicted with scurvy. In about an hour after landing I was alarmed by dreadful cries and yelling of the Chinese, and under the impression that all was not right, I hastened with my gun, accompanied by a stout lad, H. Cunningham, in the direction of the noise. After a smart run we came just in time to rescue Connor, who was on the point of being captured or killed by six or seven Chinese. The poor fellow was exhausted, and had not got more than two or three hundred yards from the wood where poor Stead was attacked.

Connor informed me that the Captain had been murdered whilst occupied in treating one of the head people of the village to some bis-

cuit, grog, &c. This man kept the Captain engaged, whilst others surrounded and seized him behind. The Chinese were armed with short swords, and bill-hooks for cutting wood; the attack was made in a wood or copse close by: there appeared to be at least a hundred Chinese. Seeing the hopelessness of contending against such numbers, the three of us retired to the boat, walking deliberately; the Chinese did not attempt to approach or molest us. Cunningham carried my duck gun, whilst I was furnished with a double barrel.

On relanding from the ship, with a party of men, well armed, the people had deserted the town. The Captain also had been removed: the spot where he was attacked bore evident marks of a violent resistance, with a vast quantity of blood.

Two of the Chinese who approached near to watch our proceedings were shot, one of them in an attempt to escape after capture; three of the houses in the town were likewise burnt by the sailors. On taking our final departure from Sing-Losan on the 21st of March, ten Mandarin boats, with about 300 men, placed themselves in a position for boarding the ship; these we speedily dispersed with a broadside of

grape and canister; their boats were thrown into great confusion, and must have suffered severely, as they were not more than two hundred yards distant when the broadside was fired.

Many of the Chinese had visited the ship, and poor Stead had been very kind to them, giving wine and other refreshments, which they always refused until he partook of them first. Some of the best dressed Chinese appeared particularly solicitous as to the number of men, and armament of the ship. Thinking them spies, I discountenanced their coming on board.

Captain Stead was a healthy, active man, about thirty-five years of age, a first rate seaman, and decidedly one of the most intelligent persons I have met with. The Nautical Magazine is also indebted to Captain Stead for some valuable communications.

Captain Stead leaves a widow and three young children, who are, so far as I can ascertain, wholly unprovided for, to deplore his loss.

R. B. CRAWFORD.

APPENDIX F.—Page 87.

Edict issued by the Prefect of Canton.

Canton, Thursday, 20th May, 1841.

Yu, the acting Prefect of Canton, issues this Edict for public information, in order to calm the feelings of the merchants, and to tranquillize commercial business. It appears that the detachments of troops for Canton have all successfully arrived. The laws for the army are, however, very strict, and without being commissioned, soldiers can never move about to create disturbance. Still it is feared, that as the military hosts are gathered in clouds, the merchants of all nations here engaged in commerce, hearing thereof, will tremble with alarm, not knowing where these things will end. Some, frightened out of their wits, may abandon their goods, and secretly go away; and others may not know whether to expect danger or quiet—while all cherish their fearful apprehensions. Those foreign merchants who are respectfully obedient, are viewed as no way different from the children of the celestial dynasty; and the Imperial Commissioner and general pacificator of the rebels, and the high

Ministers and joint Commissioners, with their Excellencies the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, managing all things with due consideration, assuredly will not involve the good and the upright in trouble. These merchants, being respectfully obedient, ought to be protected from all injury, and the goods which they have brought with them ought also to be preserved in safety. It is, therefore, right to issue this Edict for full information. And accordingly this is published, for the assurance of the merchants of every country trading at Canton. To you, who have always been respectfully obedient, and long enjoyed our commerce, the high officers of the Celestial dynasty, in fulfilling the gracious pleasure of his Imperial Majesty towards foreigners, will give full protection to the utmost of their strength. Should native robbers and bandits come out to plunder or molest you, they shall be punished with increased severity, and any goods carried off shall be restored, so that the smallest loss shall not be sustained. And you, the said foreign merchants, ought also, on your parts, to remain quiet in your lawful pursuits, continuing your trade as usual, without alarm or suspicion; but joining with the disturbed affairs will give oc-

casion for subsequent repentance. A special Edict.

APPENDIX G.—Page 165.

Circular addresssed to Her Britannic Majesty's Subjects.

Macao, Jan. 20, 1841.

Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary has now to announce the conclusion of preliminary arrangements between the Imperial Commissioner and himself, involving the following conditions:—

1. The cession of the island and harbour of Hong Kong to the British Crown. All just charges and duties upon the commerce there, to be paid as if the trade were conducted at Whampoa.

2. An indemnity of 6,000,000 dollars to the British Government; one million payable at once, and the remainder in equal annual instalments, early in 1846.

3. Direct official intercourse between the two countries upon equal footing.

4. The trade of the port of Canton to be opened within ten days after the Chinese new year, and to be carried on at Whampoa till further arrangements are practicable at the new settlement.

Details remain a matter of negociation. The Plenipotentiary seizes the earliest opportunity to declare, that the Government has sought for no privilege in China exclusively for the advantage of British ships and merchants; and he is only doing his duty in offering the protection of the British flag to the subjects, citizens, and ships of foreign powers that may resort to the possession. Pending Her Majesty's further pleasure, there will be no port, or other charges, to the British Government.

The Plenipotentiary now permits himself to make a few general observations. The oblivion of past and redressed injuries will naturally follow from the right feeling of the Queen's subjects. Indeed it should be remembered that no extent of modification resulting only from political intervention, can be efficacious in the steady improvement of our condition, unless it be systematically seconded by conciliatory treatment of the people, and becoming deference for the country upon the threshold of

which we are about to be established. The Plenipotentiary can only presume to advert very briefly to the zeal and wisdom of the Commander of the Expedition in China, and to that rare union of ardour, patience, and forbearance, which has distinguished the officers and forces of our arms, at all points of occupation and operation. He is well assured the British community will sympathize cordially with him in their sentiments of lasting respect for His Excellency, and the whole force, which he is ashamed to express in such inadequate language.

He cannot conclude without declaring that, next to these causes, the peaceful adjustment of difficulties must be ascribed to the scrupulous good faith of the very eminent person with whom negociations are still pending.

CHARLES ELLIOT,
H.M. Plenipotentiary in China.

APPENDIX H.—Page 185.

Narrative of the Loss of Her Majesty's Cutter Louisa, in a Typhoon, July 21, 1841.

July 20.—Went on board the Louisa, with the Commodore and Captain Elliot, for the purpose of proceeding to Hong Kong, to rejoin the Wellesley. The wind being light, and the ebb-tide making strong, we were compelled to anchor about two P. M., to wait for the flood, which made about six o'clock, and a good breeze then springing up, we stood along through the Lantao passage, though rather too far to the southward, the tide having drifted us down. The wind gradually freshened to a double-reefed topsail breeze, and at ten o'clock, P.M., finding we were going to leeward, we anchored close under the island of Laff-sam-ee. Wind north.

July 21.—At about half-past twelve P. M., we weighed again, and endeavoured to weather the island of Ichow, but could not; and the cutter being close to the shore, and having

missed stays twice, we were compelled to go to leeward of it. We attempted to work to windward, but could do nothing; cutter again missed stays, and in veering, when the mainsail was jibbed, the mainboom snapped in halves. We double-reefed the sail, got a sheet aft, and tried her under that sail, with the mizzen, fore-stay-sail, and gib, but she was lagging away to leewards so fast, and the wind having increased considerably, we were forced to anchor about half-way between Ichow and Chichow, with a reef of rocks astern of us. As we anchored, the mizzen-bumkin went before the sail could be taken in.

As day broke, the prospect was anything but cheering; it was blowing a gale from N.W. to N.N.W., and evidently increasing in violence every moment. A heavy sea was running, which the little cutter rode out beautifully, only now and then shipping a sea. Every hatch was now battened down, and the increasing sea frequently broke over us. Our anchors and cables being good, we held on well. About eight A. M., it was manifest that we must slip, but it was determined to hold on until we could do so no longer. About nine A. M., the heavy pitching carried away the gib-boom,

and the gaff-topsail being still aloft; after much difficulty it was got down, and the head of the topmast twisted off, but the spar could not be got on deck; it was accordingly lashed, and we stood by to slip. About half past ten o'clock, the land was seen through the haze, close under our lee, and the cutter was driving down upon it. We immediately slipped, cut away our mizzen-mast, and put the vessel before it, shipping some very heavy seas in the attempt. The fore-staysail was hoisted, but instantly blown out of the bolt-rope. The peak of the mainsail was then ordered to be swayed above the gunwale, in order that we might have her under command. The men clapped on the throat-halyards, and the peak fell down, and was jammed into the larboard gangway abaft. We were by this time within sixty yards of the shore, upon which the surf was breaking terrifically. Mr. Owen, the Second Master, incautiously went before the gangway, and attempted to lift the peak out clear, the men swaying on the halyards at the same time, it suddenly flew out, and jerked Owen into the sea, swung round, and was brought up by the fore-rigging; the gaff rent in two, and the sail, with part of the gaff, sent

forward, and was jammed before the rigging, the foot of the sail towing overboard, thus leaving us an excellent little sail to scud under: it was instantly lashed and made secure. A tumbling sea, which broke over us, washed everything off the deck that was not lashed, and, among other things a hen-coop, which poor Owen got hold of, after having taken off his pea-jacket in the water. Another heavy sea broke on board, washed away the man at the tiller, and unshipped it: we were within twenty yards of the surf, and our situation truly awful. Owen's fate now seemed but the precursor of our own, and our moments we thought numbered; but the hand of Providence was stretched forth to save us. Lord Amelius Beauclerk caught hold of the tiller, and endeavoured to ship it. A heavy lurch sent him to leeward: I picked it up, and, with the assistance of the men, it was shipped, put hard-aport, and we passed clear of the end of the island, the surf nearly breaking on board of us.

We could do nothing but run before the gale, keeping a good look-out ahead, and thus we passed about an hour of anxiety and uncertainty, lest there should be other land to leeward. Our doubts on this matter were soon

over, for the cry of "Breakers right ahead!" seemed again to warn us that our lives were but of short duration. The land appeared towering many hundred feet above us; and the roar of the breakers, as they dashed against a precipitous wall of granite, was heard above the fearful violence of the tempest.

'Hard a-port!' and 'Hard a-starboard!' were shouted out in quick succession by Captain Elliot, who was standing forward, holding on by the fore rigging; as the little vessel obeyed her helm, a blast, which seemed a concentration of all the winds, threw her nearly on her broadside, but she gallantly stood up again under it, and we passed within a few yards of a smooth granite precipice, on which the sea first broke, and to have touched which would have shivered the cutter into a thousand fragments. We ran along this frightful coast, the wind nearly a-beam for not less than 300 yards, expecting every moment to be our last; but God, in his infinite mercy, was pleased to have us in his special keeping, and we rounded the end of this land with feelings of men who have been delivered from a frightful, and as we deemed, an inevitable death, with

not a chance (from the nature of the coast) of one of our lives being saved.

We had evidently now (from the long following seas), got out of the immediate vicinity of the islands, and the wind abated a little; the sail was scarcely sufficient to steady the vessel, and to keep her before the seas, which frequently broke over us. We passed through a space of about two and a half or three miles, which was covered with floating fragments of wrecks of Chinese and foreign vessels, affording a melancholy proof of what devastation of property and loss of life must have been caused, and that, *our* lives being spared, we had much to be thankful for.

It was now about three P.M., and the wind had gradually veered round to east and south-east, and continued shifting between those points, so that our course was from west to north-west, but nearer the former than the latter. We concluded that we had passed to the southward of the Ladrones, and, if so, that we must, by steering that course, be running directly for the shore about Montanha. The water now became very much discoloured, so much so as to leave a sediment on the decks and on our

clothes, as the sea broke over us; two hand leads were lashed together, and we got soundings in seven fathoms—the gale was blowing with redoubled fury, and it was plain that, this time, as we were running on towards the main, (or rather the western islands,) there was only one chance of safety for us, and that was, to get into one of the many creeks or channels for boats, which are rather numerous about that part of the coast; and, failing this, to run her into shoaler water, let go the anchor, and put our trust in that all-seeing providence, who had already twice preserved us. "Land right a-head!" again put our speculations to flight; and we were once more to find ourselves saved from imminent peril. The wind literally howled and screamed through the rigging, and our little sail began to show symptoms of being no longer able to withstand the fearful conflict. Again the land towered above us, and a surf broke close on our larboard beam, about 150 yards from the shore; we cleared this danger, and ran along the land. Suddenly, through the mist, a gap was seen in the outline, and high land trending away beyond on both sides, which Captain Elliot instantly declared to be a creek; our hopes were fixed on rounding the

point where we should be, comparatively speaking, in shelter; but the thing appeared impossible. The wind and waves, as if determined not to be again robbed of their prey, raged with inconceivable fury; and the surf, breaking to the height of 150 feet, gave us too sure intimation of what would be our fate should we but touch the iron-bound coast. We steered as high for clearing the point as possible; we gradually neared it; each surf broke closer—we could only hold our course; we seemed bearing down upon the breakers; it was an awful moment!—We were looking for and expecting the shock, beyond which all would be oblivion; a surf broke almost on board, and the cutter was hid in the spray—a terrific blast split our sail to shreds; "Hard a-port!" a moment of breathless suspense—and thanks be to Almighty God, we passed clear. We felt directly that we were partially sheltered, and stood by the anchor, for we were drifting right upon the shore; it was accordingly let go, and held, checking her way for a moment, and nearly taking her under water. A heavy sea broke over us, and I fancied we were lifted over a rock, for I was quite sensible of a shock, which a person who has once been aground cannot

easily mistake; the cable flew out of the hawse, and the anchor again brought us on our beam ends; the water was up to the combings of the hatchways, but she rose very slowly; we were within thirty yards of the rocks, and embayed; the cable had checked her considerably, and we slowly drifted towards the shore, Captain Elliot conning her. The cable running out, she struck about 15 or 20 yards from the precipitous coast, the next sea lifted her so that she bilged, and filled instantly, with her starboard bow touching a detached rock, and receding with the sea—several people jumped overboard, others got on the rocks on the starboard bow, and threw themselves down to prevent being washed off by the surf, which now swept the vessel, and threatened her with almost instant annihilation. Great danger was apprehended from the fall of the mast, which would have come upon those who were on the rock. One of the boys swam over, and a rope being thrown him he made it fast on the shore, and was passed round a portion of our rock of refuge, by which means all hands got safely on shore. Captain Elliot and two of the men were washed off the rock, but fortunately succeeded in reaching the land, though much exhausted.

There we stood, out of all danger from the violence of the tempest, and saw the gradual destruction of the gallant little vessel which had borne us along so well, through a storm hardly to be surpassed in violence, and through perils which men, doubtless, sometimes witness, but seldom live to recount; and I do not believe there was a man amongst our number, twenty-three in all, who, (thoughtless though sailors be), did not offer up a fervent prayer of thanksgiving to God, who had so signally vouchsafed to stretch forth his hand and save us.

Two or three of the men were now sent up the hill to look at the surrounding country, but nothing was seen of any human habitation; they returned and reported accordingly. About half past five P.M. the tide had fallen so that we sent down to the wreck to endeavour to save a small quantity of provisions, and to get some blankets and clothing to shelter ourselves against the inclemency of the weather. We succeeded in procuring both, but not in such quantities as we could have wished; and, as the vessel was going to pieces, it was not safe to make a very long stay on board. We got, besides a sail, a part of one, a tarpaulin, and

eight bottles of gin, a small portion of which was instantly served out to all hands, upon which, with a small piece of raw beef or pork, we made our first meal, after nearly twenty-four hours' fasting.

As many as could get them, put on cloth under their trowsers, and those who had flannel waistcoats were more fortunate. We then began to make arrangements for passing the night; having found a fissure in the side of a precipice, open at the top, with a small space outside, we placed stones so as to cover a small mountain stream that ran through the centre of our comfortless abode, and strapped the tarpaulin up across the entrance, where it was exposed to the unabated fury of the typhoon. Having taken off our clothes and wrung them, and put them on again, the Commodore, Captain Elliot, Lord A. Beauclerk, myself, the Commodore and Captain Elliot's servants, with a little Portuguese boy, sat down in a circle, with our backs to the sides of the cavern and the tarpaulin, and had a large blanket thrown over all. As there was no room for more inside, a sail was spread outside, over the rocks. Mr. Fowler, and Jena, second mate, and the men, rolled themselves up in blankets,

and lay down exposed to the wind and rain. The latter descended in torrents all night, pouring down upon us in little cascades from all parts of the rock above, making a channel amongst the people on the sail; in fact it was very like lying down to sleep in a running stream. Of course, few of us were fortunate enough to close our eyes in slumber, and the gradually breaking up of the little cutter continually called forth an exclamation from some of us, as crash after crash was heard above the noise of the wind and breakers. We who were within the cleft, remained in a sitting posture all night, for there was no room to recline.

At length, the morning of the 22d dawned, and we saw all that held together of the Louisa; her taffrail jammed between two rocks, and a few of the deck planks adhering, but all the rest was scattered along the coast in fragments. We stripped, wrung our clothes, and put them on again; and having served out a small quantity of spirits, several exploring parties were sent out to endeavour to find some Chinese.

We were not very far from a sandy bay, on which were cast up many articles of wreck; along this bay a party was sent, whilst others went up the hills; some descended to our own

wreck, and a few remained in or near the cavern. We had not long been down before we discovered, under planks and timbers, the bodies of three Chinese, frightfully lacerated by the rocks; their vessel must have been driven ashore during the night. Suddenly I heard myself hailed, and on looking up saw two Chinese, each of them appropriating a blanket. All hands were instantly recalled, and we began to talk to them: one of them had a most benevolent countenance, and to him was the conversation principally addressed. This man gave Captain Elliot a paper, which was folded and quite saturated with water; but after some time we got the two folds clear, and were delighted to see Captain Elliot's signature, and some of the cutter's men said they recognised our friend as one of the boat people at Macao. He was instantly offered 1000 dollars if he would give us a fishing boat to take us thither; this he undertook to do very readily, and beckoned us to follow him, which we did, having first shouldered the beef, and pork, and gin, and put as many clothes on as we could get. On the top of the hill we were joined by the party which were sent round the sandy bay; they said they had found the bodies of eleven Chinese, and the

wreck of a large junk, and one of them had picked up the box containing the Commodore's decorations, which we distributed amongst ourselves and put in our pockets. We were very badly off for shoes; I had only one, and the consequence was, my feet were much cut. We walked over two hills, in single file, and as we topped the third, saw an extensive valley, with a long sandy beach, on which the sea was breaking heavily. A creek ran up on the left side by a considerable village or hamlet; and the place seemed full of people. Scarcely had we appeared over the hill, when we were seen by the Chinese; the women and children ran away, screaming "Fanqui!" "Fanqui!" and the men, armed with bill-hooks, rushed up the path in hundreds, railing at and menacing us. However, our benevolent guide explained matters to them; and about sixty passed us to go and plunder the wreck. At length one of them stopped Captain Elliot, and commenced rifling his pockets; I was walking behind Captain Elliot, and the same fellow thrust his hands into my pockets, in which was the star of the Hanoverian Guelphic order; I squeezed my arm to my side to prevent his taking it, when he shook his bill-hook in my face, and another

fellow jumped upon a large stone, and flourished his weapon over my head: still I held on, when the first man struck me a severe blow on the arm with the back of the bill-hook. Captain Elliot looked round just then, and said it was no use resisting, and that I had better give up every thing to them, they being twenty to one, and we wholly unarmed and in their power. I accordingly resisted no longer, and repeated Captain Elliot's advice to those behind me. Having taken the contents of our pockets, and eased the bearers of the beef, pork, and gin, of their loads, they returned and stripped us of clothing, just allowing a regard for common decency; after which they molested us no further. The only two amongst us who were struck were the Commodore (who was knocked down) and myself.

On our arrival before a little shed, one of the outermost houses of the village, our friend commenced preparing it for our reception, a proceeding we did not by any means admire, as we understood that a boat would at once take us to Macao; but he said the wind was too high, which in truth it was, and we were therefore compelled to enter and wait the result. Our man, whose name was Mingfong,

made a fire, and gave us a breakfast of rice and salt fish, which we were too happy to get; having satisfied our appetites, we endeavoured to dry our clothes, and make ourselves as comfortable as men in our situation could do. We presently ascertained, with great satisfaction, that there were no officers in the place, so that if we could manage properly, there was every probability of our escaping a trip to Pekin. Captain Elliot increased the sum originally offered, to 2000 dollars, if they would take us to Macao as soon as the wind moderated; and, after some difficulty, it was agreed to.

We had the satisfaction of seeing the people passing and repassing with different articles of our property in their possession, many of which they brought to us to inquire the use of. The bodies of the three Chinese had been discovered almost on the spot where the Louisa had been wrecked; and as they bore some frightful marks caused by dashing against the rocks, it was supposed we had murdered them. This was a very awkward affair; but we could only deny it strenuously, with every expression of horror that such a crime should be imputed to us, who had so providentially been saved from the same fate as these poor men. However, they would not

be persuaded to the contrary, or they did not understand our explanation, until Lena, by gestures, showed them that in all probability the junk people had lashed themselves to spars, and in endeavouring to reach the land on them, had been dashed against the rocks, which accounted for their lacerated appearance, and the ropes found round their bodies. They went away apparently satisfied, but occasionally two or three would return and revive the matter, making demonstration of sharpening knives and cutting throats. When they found the cutter's arms, they were also very angry, and stormed and railed against us most violently.

All the women and children in the place crowded round to look at us, (particularly when eating,) and many were the inquiries made as to the sex of old Joe, the Commodore's black Gentoo servant, who wearing ear-rings and having his hair turned back and twisted in a knot behind, did bear some slight resemblance to a female; but on closer inspection, his thick beard, whiskers, and moustaches might have satisfied the most sceptical among them; they had however taken away his ear-rings, and one savage attempted to cut off his ear.

We had another mess of rice towards even-

ing, and that night slept around the fire, though not very soundly, for we were apprehensive the Chinese had some design upon us; but I believe no harm was intended. People were walking about all night which kept us on the *qui vive*. The wind having moderated very considerably, Captain Elliot proposed to them to go that night; but they were afraid of the ladrones, and though tempted by an additional 1000 dollars they refused. Their wives appeared to object to the proceedings, or I think they would have been induced to go. During the night, Captain Elliot made a final arrangement, by which we were to start at day light on the morning of the 23rd, in two boats: in each boat there were to be but ten people, the remainder to be sent for on our arrival at Macao, for which service they were to receive 3000 dollars, and 100 for each of the boats.

At daylight on the 23rd, we were prepared to start, but the Chinese tantalized us by making thole-pins, mending sails, &c. At last we had the satisfaction of seeing two boats come down the creek, and anchor abreast of our dwelling. The people to whom the boats belonged, now refused to let them go unless 150 dollars were given for each, and this after

some demur was agreed to, as every moment's delay increased the probability of our falling into the hands of the officers; but no sooner had the blackguards been promised the 150 dollars than they increased their demand to 200. Here our friend Mingfong took our part, and abused his countrymen for their rapacity, and declared we should not be so imposed upon, he would sooner take but one boat. All was at length settled. We had chow-chow,* (amongst which they gave us part of our own pork,) and having bid good-bye to those who were to remain, at about eight A. M. the Commodore and Captain Elliot got into one boat, and myself and Captain Elliot's servant (who was sick) went in the other; they made us lay on our backs at the bottom of the boat, and covered us with straw. We got through the surf and out to sea without any mishap, as the weather was fine: further than that I knew nothing until about two P.M., when they uncovered us and gave us some rice. We had just finished our light repast, when the man sitting above me hit me a pretty hard blow on the head, and made signs for me to lie down again; this I did, and was covered with a mat; a few minutes after I

* *Anglicè* provisions.

heard a rush as if some large boat was passing us, which was the case. They said nothing to us, but the other boat was hailed, and asked what was the news, and whether many vessels had been wrecked on that part of the coast, to which suitable replies were given, and we passed on. This was a mandarin boat! They little thought what a prize was within their grasp—the two plenipotentiaries. Doubtless we were throughout these three days of adventure and peril, in the special keeping of providence. In about two hours I again ventured to look up, and to my great joy discovered two ships anchored at a considerable distance. I could not recognize the land, and was quite mystified as to our situation; at last I determined that it must be the Typa, and I was right; we passed to the left of Monkey Island, and Macao opened to our view. Glad indeed we were, and thankful for our deliverance! We saw a vessel not far behind working up for Macao, which Captain Elliot made out to be a Lorcha, and we could no longer remain under cover, but throwing off the mats, stood upon the thwarts and waved our hats to attract their attention, at the same time telling the Chinese to give way, which they did most lustily. My boat

was a faster one than the other, and consequently got along side first, when I met with an unexpected reception; all the Portuguese and Lascars were drawn up with swords, muskets, and pistols, so that I had nearly been shot at the moment of deliverance. However, Captain Elliot's servant explained who were in the other boat, and we went along side instantly; they had mistaken us for ladrones, hence the muskets, swords, and pistols. The Commodore and Captain Elliot were on board within a few minutes after us, and we were regaled with soft tack and pine-apple by the people on board, who seemed overjoyed at seeing us.

We soon came to in the inner harbour, and were all landed safely at the Bar-fort; the Commodore was in a blue worsted sailor's frock, a light pair of trowsers of four days' wear, shoes, and a low-crowned hat. Captain Elliot in a Manilla hat, a jacket, no shirt, a pair of striped trowsers, and shoes. I had a shirt and trowsers, no hat, and a pair of red slippers, borrowed of a Parsee on board the Lorcha. The commandant of the fort was most amiable, and most particularly anxious to turn out the guard for the Commodore, who certainly did not look in a fit mood to appreciate such a mark of respect, his

appearance bearing a close resemblance to a highly respectable Quarter-master who had been dissipating; consequently the turning-out of the guard was strongly deprecated, and the idea abandoned by the gallant Portuguese. Steps were instantly taken to procure the liberation of those still left in the hands of the Chinese. A boat was dispatched to the island, accompanied by Mr. Thom, and all the crew brought to Macao on the 25th inst.

I need hardly add, that on our arrival at our quarters we instantly cleaned ourselves, and fully enjoyed the comforts of a good meal, and an uninterrupted night's rest, after what had been our lot to undergo, and which, with God's help, we had so fortunately escaped—peril by water, peril by land, and peril of a captivity in the hands of the Chinese!

APPENDIX I.

Keshen's Memorial to the Emperor on the state of the Defence of the Canton Province; sent to Pekin the commencement of February, 1841, *during negociations.*

I have been induced to insert the following chop, from the consideration that, at the crisis at which it was issued, it shows the unchanging duplicity and determined hostility of Keshen. It is also curious as being an important Chinese state paper; and however much we may condemn his treachery, still the document, on perusal, will not be found wanting in ability:—

Translation of a memorial, from the minister, &c., Keshen, to the Emperor.

Your majesty's slave, Keshen, minister of the Inner Council, and acting governor of the

two Kwang,—kneeling, presents this respectful memorial,—setting forth how that the English foreigners have despatched a person to Chekeäng province to deliver back Tinghae,—how that they have restored to us the forts of Shakok and Taikok, in the province of Kwantung, along with the vessels of war and salt-junks which they had previously captured, all which have been duly received back,—and how that the war ships of these foreigners have already retired to the outer waters:—all these facts, along with his observations upon the military position of the country, its means of offence and defence, the quality of its soldiery, and the disposition of its people, observations resulting from personal investigation,—he now lays before your imperial majesty, praying that a sacred glance may be bestowed upon the same.

Previously to the receipt of your majesty's sovereign commands, your slave had, with a view to preserve the territory and the lives of the people, ventured,—rashly and forgetful of his ignorance,—to make certain conditional concessions to the English foreigners, promising that he would earnestly implore in their behalf a gracious manifestation of imperial goodness. Yet, having done this, he repeatedly

laid before your majesty the acknowledgment of his offence, for which he desired to receive severe punishment. It was subsequently thereto, on the 20th of January, 1841, that he received, through the General Council, the following imperial edict.

"Keshen has handed up to us a report on the measures he is taking in regard to the English foreigners, under the present condition of circumstances. As these foreigners have shown themselves so unreasonable that all our commands are lost upon them, it behoves us immediately to make of them a most dreadful example of severity. Orders have now been given that, with the utmost speed, there be furnished from the several provinces of Hoonan, Szechuen, and Kweichew, 4000 troops, to repair, without loss of time, to Canton, and there to hold themselves under orders for service. Let Keshen, availing himself of the assistance of Lin Tsihseu, and Tang Tingching, take the necessary measures for the due furtherance of the object in view. And if these rebellious foreigners dare to approach the shores of our rivers, let him adopt such measures as circumstances shall point out for their extermination."

Again, on the 26th of January, your majesty's

slave received the following imperial edict, sent him direct from the cabinet:

"Keshen has presented a report regarding the measures he is pursuing against the English foreigners: which We have perused, and on the substance of which We are fully informed. In conformity with our previous commands, let a large body of troops be assembled, and let an awful display of celestial vengeance be made. Whatever may be required for the expenses of such military operations, may be drawn equally from the duties arising from commerce, and the revenues derivable from the land-tax, the drafts being made after due consideration, and a correct statement being drawn out of the expenditure. If these united sources do not afford a sufficient amount, let it be so reported to us, and our further pleasure awaited.

With respect, your slave, humbly, upon his knees, has heard these commands. He would remark, that, while indeed he had made certain conditional concessions to the English, these amounted to nothing more than that he would lay their case before your majesty; and thus, in the article of trade, though it was expressly said, that they desired the trade to be opened within the first decade of the first month of this

year (23d Jan. to 1st Feb.), he still has not, up to this time, ventured to declare it open. Yet have these foreigners, nevertheless sent a letter, in which they restore to us the forts Shakok and Taikok, along with all the vessels of war and the salt-junks which they had previously captured; and, at one and the same time, they despatched a foreign officer by sea to Chekeäng, to cause the withdrawal of their troops, and have given to your slave a foreign document which he has forwarded to Elepoo, at the rate of 600 *le* a day by virtue whereof he may receive back Tinghae;—conduct, this, which on their part shows a more meek and compliant disposition than they have evinced before. But alas! your slave is a man of dull understanding and poor capacity, and in his arrangement of these things, he has not had the happiness to meet the sacred wishes of his sovereign. Trembling from limb to limb, how shall he find words to express himself! He humbly remembers that in his own person he has received the imperial bounty. Nor is his conscience hardened. How then should he, while engaged in the important work of curbing these unruly foreigners, presume to shrink from danger or to court unlawful repose! So far from thus

acting, he has, from the moment he arrived in Canton until now, been harassed by the perverse craftiness of these presumptuous foreigners, who have shown themselves every way obstinate and impracticable,—yea, till head has ached, and heart has rent, with pain, and with the anxiety, ere even a morning meal, quickly to exterminate these rebels. Had he but the smallest point whereon to maintain his ground in contest with them, he would immediately report it, and under the imperial auspices make known to them the vengeance of heaven. But circumstances are, alas! opposed to the wishes of his heart. This condition of circumstances he has repeatedly brought before the imperial eye, in a series of successive memorials.

Now, after that these said foreigners had despatched a person to Chekeäng to restore Tinghae,—and had delivered up all that had been captured by them in the province of Kwangtung,—after, too, their ships of war had all retired to the outer waters,—it so happened that Elliot solicited an interview: and as your slave had not yet inspected the entrances of the port, and the fortifications of the Bocca Tigris,—as also the troops ordered from the several provinces had not yet arrived,—it did

not seem prudent to show any thing that might cause suspicion on the part of the foreigners, and so to bring on at once a commencement of troubles and collision from their side. Therefore the occasion of visiting, for inspection, the Bocca Tigris, was taken advantage of to grant an interview.

Having left Canton for this purpose, on the 25th of January, your slave had to pass by the Szetsze waters (the Reach from First to Second Bar); and here he was met by Elliot, who came in a steam vessel, desiring that he might see him. His retinue did not exceed a few tens of persons,—he brought with him no ships of war,—and his language and demeanour upon that occasion were most respectful. He presented a rough draft of several articles on which he desired to deliberate,—the major part having regard to the troublesome minutiæ of commerce; and he agreed, that, for the future, in any cases of the smuggling of opium, or of other contraband traffic or evasion of duties, both ship and cargo should be confiscated. Among the number of his proposals, were some highly objectionable, which were at the moment pointed out and refused,—upon which the said foreigner begged that emendations should be

offered and considered of. It has now accordingly been granted him, that alterations and emendations be made, and when these shall be determined on and agreed to, the whole shall be presented for your majesty's inspection. Your slave then parted with Elliot.

He now found that the Szetsze waters were yet distant from the Bocca Tigris about 60 *le* (or nearly 20 miles). Even there, the sea is vast and wide, with boisterous waves and foaming billows, lashed up into fury by fierce winds. Majestically grand! How widely different the outer seas are from our inland river-water!—Having changed his boat for a sea-going vessel, your slave stood out for the Bocca Tigris; and, there arrived, he made a most careful inspection of every fort and battery in the place.

Such *forts* as did not stand completely isolated in the midst of the sea, he yet found to have channels, affording ready water communication, behind the hills on which they were situated. So that it were easy to go round and strictly blockade them; nor would it, in that case, be even possible to introduce provisions for the garrison. After this careful inspection of the place,—the depth of water in the river, beginning here and proceeding all the way to

the very city, was next ascertained; and the soundings, taken at high water, were found to be irregular, from one *chang* (or two fathoms) and upwards, to three and even four *chang*. Hence, then, it has become known to all, that the reputation of the fortifications of the Bocca Tigris as a defence, has been acquired,—first, by the circumstance, that merchant vessels require a somewhat greater depth of water; and secondly, because that in ordinary times, when the foreigners observe our laws and restraints, they naturally do not venture to avoid the forts by passing through circuitous courses. But when they bring troops, to resist and oppose rather than to obey, they may sneak in at every hole and corner, and are under no necessity of passing by the forts, to enter the river, and so can easily proceed straight up to the provincial metropolis. For as soon as they may have in any way got beyond the Bocca Tigris, there are communications open to them in every direction. It is then clear, that we have no defences worthy to be called such. This is, in truth, the local character of the country,—that there is no important point of defence by which the whole may be maintained.

In reference to the *guns* mounted in the forts, their whole number does not exceed some two hundred and odd, hardly enough to fortify the fronts alone, while the sides are altogether unfurnished. Moreover, those guns that are in good order, ready for use, are not many. The original model has been bad, and they have been made without any due regard to principles of construction:—thus, the body of the gun is very large, while the bore is very small; and the sea being at that place extremely wide, the shot will not carry above half way. As regards, then, their number, they are not so many as are those which the foreign ships carry; and in point of quality they are no less inferior to those on board the foreign vessels. Again, the embrasures in which they are placed are as large as doors, wide enough almost to allow people to pass in and out: from a sustained fire from the enemy, they would afford no shelter at all to our people; and they may, then, at once be said to be utterly ineffective. A founder of cannon has recently presented himself, who has already given in a model, and is about to make some experimental pieces of artillery. But, should he really succeed in casting good cannon, yet can he only do so as

a preparation for the future, and in no way can he be in time for the business we have now in hand. These are the proofs of the inefficiency of our military armament, which is such that no reliance can be placed upon it.

Further, with reference to the *quality of our troops:* we find that the only way to repel the foreigners is by fighting them at sea, but to fight at sea it is necessary to have a good marine force. Now, we have at present to acknowledge the forethought and care of your majesty, in despatching land forces from the several provinces to Canton: but these troops, before they can meet the foreigners in battle, will require to embark in ships of war and proceed to the outer waters. Though the objection be not maintained, that, being unaccustomed to the seas and waves, they needs must meet with disaster and overthrow; yet, seeing that the conduct and management of the vessels is a thing with which they are quite unacquainted, the services of the naval force still cannot at all be dispensed with. The recruits to the naval force of this province are, however, all supplied by its own sea-coast, by encouraged enlistment; and their quality is very irregular. Your slave had heard a report that, after the battle upon

the 7th of January, all these men went to their *tetuh* (or commander-in-chief) demanding of him money, under threats that they would otherwise immediately disband. The other day, therefore, when on the spot, your slave made inquiries of the *tetuh* on this matter,—when he answered, that the report was perfectly true, and that he, having no other remedy at hand, was obliged to pawn his clothes and other things, by which means he was enabled to give each of them a bonus of two dollars, and thus only could get them to remain until now at their posts. Hereby may be seen, in a great measure, the character of the Canton soldiery. And, supposing when we had joined battle, just at the most critical moment, these marine forces were not to stand firm, the consequences would be most disastrous. For although we should have our veteran troops serving with them, yet these would have no opportunity of bringing their skill into play. Still further, our ships of war are not large and strong, and it is difficult to mount heavy guns on board them. By these observations, it is evident, that our force here as a guard and defence against the foreigners is utterly insufficient.

Your slave has also made personal observa-

tion of the character and *disposition of the people* of this province. He has found them ungrateful and avaricious. Putting out of view those who are actual traitors, and of whom, therefore, it is unnecessary to say anything, the rest dwell indiscriminately with foreigners, they are accustomed to see them day by day, and after living many years together, the utmost intimacy has grown up between them. They are widely different from the people of Tinghae, who, having had no previous intercourse with foreigners, felt at once that they were of another race. Let us reverse the circumstances, and suppose that the English had craftily distributed their gifts and favours, and set at work the whole machinery of their tricks, *here* as at Chusan: and it might verily be feared, that the whole people would have been seduced from their allegiance; they would certainly not have shown the same unbending obstinacy that the people of Tinghae did. These plain evidences of the want of firmness on the part of the people here, give us still more cause for anxiety.

We find, on turning over the records of the past, that, when operations were being carried on against the pirates of this pro-

vince, although these were only so many thieves and robbers, with native vessels, and guns of native casting, yet the affair was lengthened out for several years; and was only put an end to by invitations to lay down their arms under promise of security. And it is much to be feared, that the "wasp's sting is far more poisonous" now than then.

Your slave has again and again revolved the matter in his anxious mind. The consequences, in so far as they relate to his own person, are trifling; but as they regard the stability of the government, and the lives of the people, they are vast, and extend to distant posterity. Should he incur guilt in giving battle when unable to command a victory, or should he be criminal in making such arrangements as do not meet the gracious approbation of his sovereign,—he must equally bear his offence; and, for his life, what is *it*, that he should be cared for or pitied!

But if it be in not acting so as to meet the gracious approbation of his sovereign that he becomes guilty,—the province and the people have yet their sacred sovereign to look to and rely upon for happiness, protection, justice, and peace. Whereas, if his guilt should lie in

giving battle when unable to command a victory, then will the celestial dignity of the throne be sullied, the lives of the people sacrificed, and for further proceedings and arrangements it will be, in an increased degree, impossible to find resource.

Entertaining these views, a council has been held of all the officers in the city; namely, the general and lieutenant-generals of the garrison, the lieutenant-governor, the literary chancellor, and the commissioners, intendants, prefects, and magistrates, as also the late governors, Lin Tsihseu and Tang Tingching; all of whom agree that our defences are such as it is impossible to trust to, and that our troops would not hold their ground on the field of battle. Moreover, the troops ordered from the different provinces by your majesty having yet a long journey to come, time is still necessary for their arrival; nor can they all arrive together. The assemblage of a large body of troops, too, is a thing not to be effected without sundry rumours flying about,—our native traitors are sure to give information; and the said foreigners will previously let loose their contumacious and violent dispositions. Your slave is so worried by grief and vexation, that he loathes his food,

and sleep has forsaken his eyelids. But, for the above-cited reasons, he does not shrink from the heavy responsibility he is incurring, in submitting all these facts, the results of personal investigation, to your celestial majesty. And, at the same time he presents for perusal the letter of the said foreigners, wherein they make the various restorations before enumerated. He humbly hopes his sacred sovereign will with pity look down upon the blackhaired flock — his people,— and will be graciously pleased to grant favours beyond measure, by acceding to the requests now made. Thus shall we be spared the calamity of having our people and land burned to ashes, and thus shall we lay the foundation of victory, by binding and curbing the foreigners now, while preparing to have the power of cutting them off at some future period.

It is humbly hoped that your sacred majesty will condescend to inquire regarding the meeting in council, and state of circumstances, here reported. And your slave begs, that a minister of eminence may be specially despatched hither, to re-investigate matters. Your slave has been actuated entirely by a regard to the safety of the land and the people. He is not

swayed by the smallest particle of fear; and still less dare he use false pretexts, or glozing statements. For the real purposes herein declared, he humbly makes this report (which he forwards by express at the rate of 600 *le* a day),—in the hope that it might be honoured with a sacred glance.—A most respectful memorial.

END.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SCHULZE AND CO., 13, POLAND STREET.

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY OVERDUE.

FEB 25 1939

16Nov48P

U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES
C061335079

514316
DS757
.5
M16
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY